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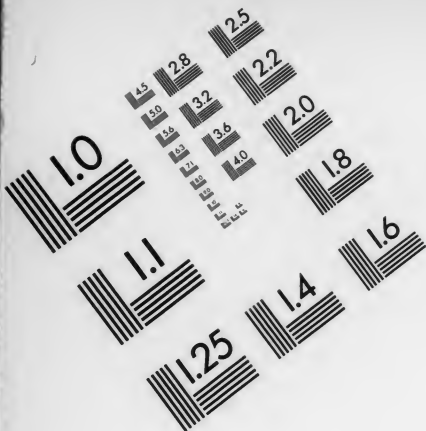
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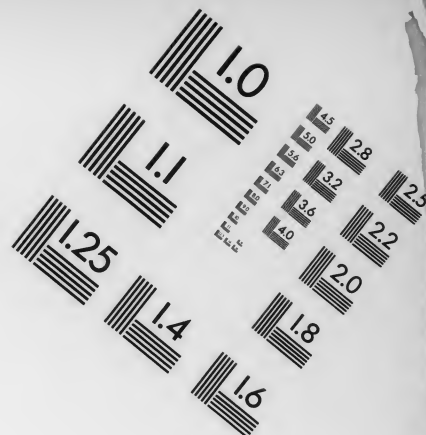
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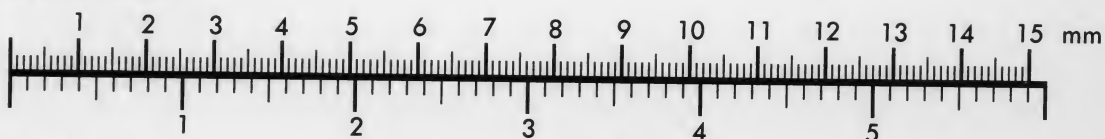
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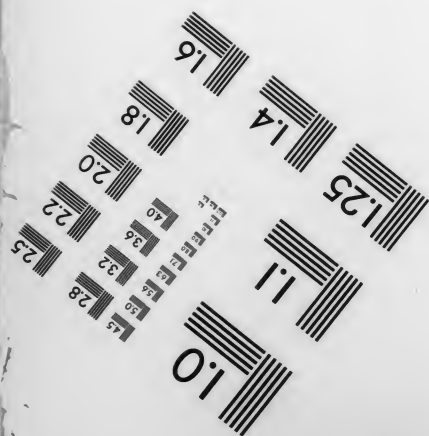
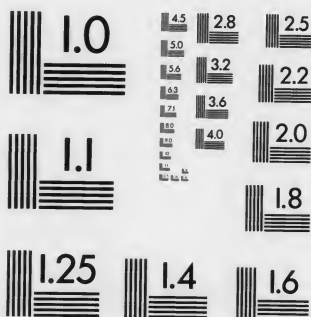
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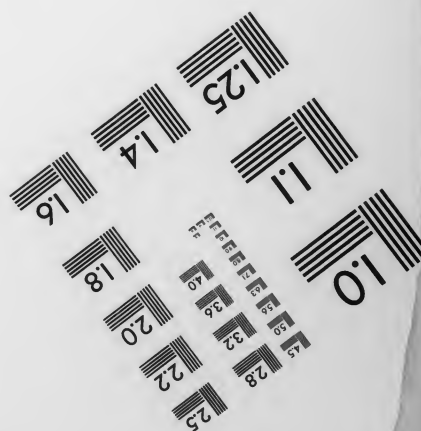
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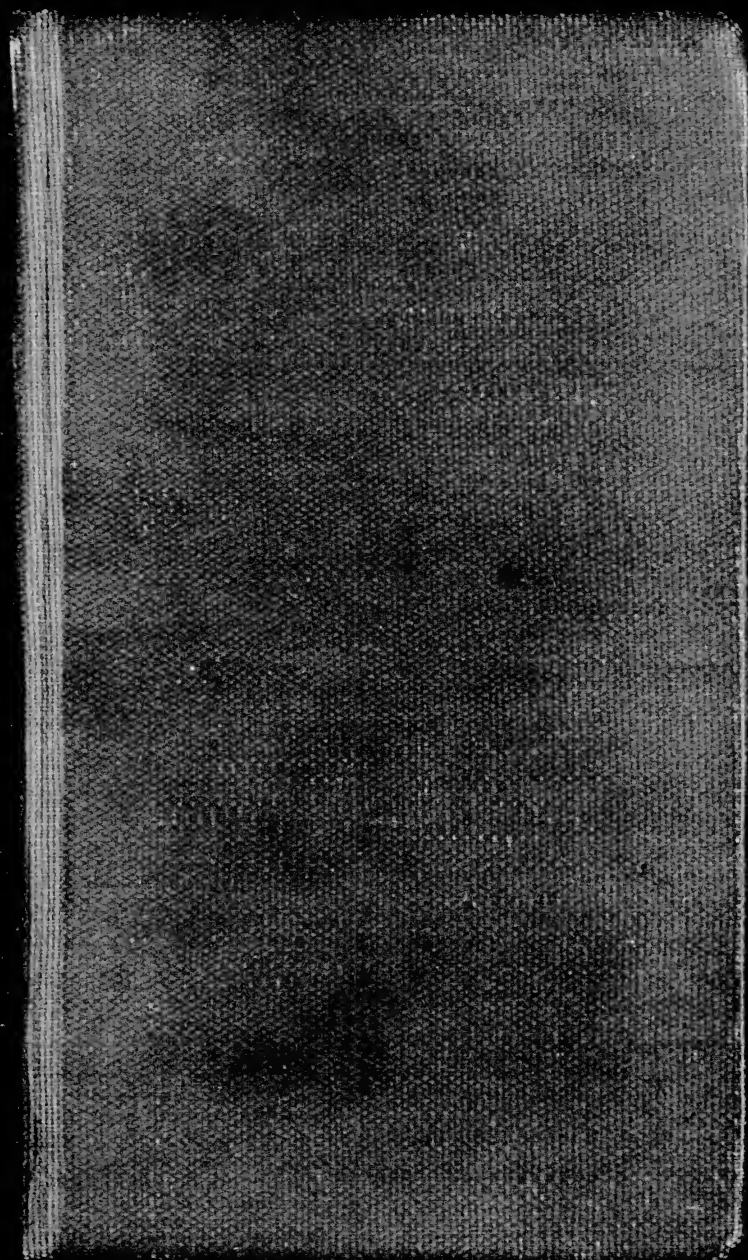


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OF
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FROM
THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR
TO THE PRESENT TIME:
EXHIBITING A VARIETY OF
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THE HISTORY OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

BOOK I. BRITISH HISTORY, LITERATURE, AND MANNERS.

CHAP. I.

FROM THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR, 55 YEARS BEFORE
CHRIST, TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS, A.D. 449.

THE earliest emigration from Gaul to Britain is supposed to have happened in the reign either of David or of Solomon, about a thousand years before the coming of our Saviour. The first denomination of the island was Albion, (signifying *heights*;) a name evidently conferred before it was peopled, and while its heights were only viewed at a distance from the opposite shore of Gaul. The more recent and general appellation of Britain, after all the learning that has been employed upon it, appears to be derived from a Celtic word, denoting *separation*. Even the Romans, after they had acquired some knowledge of the island by the invasion of Cæsar, seem to have entertained scarcely any other feeling respecting this country, than that it was shut out from the rest of the world. Thus Virgil calls our ancestors

"Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos:
"The Britons quite separated from the whole world."

But when the Romans had extended their conquests over a great part of Britain, the geographers and historians of that illustrious people threw a different light on the island and its inhabitants. And, indeed, so similar were the manners of its rude tribes to those of the opposite shores, that there is no room to doubt of a common origin for both.

Julius Cæsar, about fifty-five years before the birth of Christ, having made great progress in the conquest of Gaul, began to cast an ambitious eye on the island of Britain, and to think of adding it to the Roman empire. He is said to have been prompted to form this design, by the beauty and magnitude of the British pearls, which he greatly admired: but his ambition would have stimulated him to a hostile visit, even if pearls had not formed a part of the natural treasures of the country. His ostensible reason was the assistance which some of the British nations had given to his enemies in Gaul.

In order to obtain some intelligence of the state of the country which he designed to invade, Cæsar convened, from different parts of Gaul, a great number of merchants who had visited this island in the way of trade, and asked them many questions concerning its dimensions, the number, power, and customs of its inhabitants, their art of war, and their harbours capable of receiving large ships. Having received satisfactory answers, he embarked his troops at Calais, and in a few hours reached the coast of Britain, near Dover. After sailing about eight miles towards the north, he determined to land at Deal, though the British army stood ready on the shore, to give him a warm reception. As his fleet approached, the Britons, astonished at the shape and motion of the galleys, and the playing of the engines, first halted, and then began to retreat. But still many of the Roman soldiers hesitated to leave their ships, and encounter at once the waves and the brave natives; when the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, having first invoked the gods, leaped into the sea, and advancing with the eagle towards the troops, cried aloud, "Follow me, fellow-soldiers, unless you will betray the Roman eagle into the hands of the enemy: for my part, I am determined to discharge my duty to Cæsar and the commonwealth." All who beheld this heroic action, and heard the animating speech with which it was accompanied, were fired with courage and emulation, plunged into the sea, advanced towards the shore, and obliged the Britons to retire.

After concluding a peace, Cæsar returned into Gaul, and began to make preparations for a second expedition into Britain, which he undertook in the next year, when the islanders agreed to pay tribute. From these expeditions, however, the Romans derived no other advantage than a better knowledge of the island.

The Britons, at this period, were governed in time of war by a political confederacy, of which Cassibelanus (whose territories lay about Hertfordshire) was the head: and this form of government long continued to be occasionally exercised among them.

While the Romans were engaged in the horrors of civil war, Britain was entirely neglected by them, and the tribute, which had been imposed by Cæsar, was never paid. Even after Augustus had attained the peaceable possession of the whole empire, he did not think it proper to invade Britain; being probably restrained from it by his favourite maxim, "*Never to fish with a golden hook;*" that is, never to engage in an enterprise, which was likely to be more expensive than profitable.

The emperor Claudius, however, undertook and executed an expedition, in which, without any display of military skill, he subdued the south-eastern parts A. D. 44. of the island: yet Caractacus and other intrepid chieftains continued to withstand the Roman power. That patriotic warrior being at length taken prisoner, after a desperate battle, and carried to Rome, his undaunted behaviour before Claudius gained him the admiration of the victors, and is celebrated in the histories of the times. Boadicea, queen of the Icenæ, (the inhabitants chiefly of Norfolk and Suffolk,) also opposed the invaders with great spirit: but, being defeated, she disdained to *survive the liberties of her country*. Agricola, general to Domitian, after subduing South-Britain, carried his arms northwards, where his successors had no reason to boast of their progress, every inch of the ground being bravely defended.

To protect the Britons from the invasions of the Picts and Scots, the Romans built two famous walls, one between the friths of Clyde and Forth, and the other between Tinmouth and the Solway Frith. The former was erected by the order of Antoninus Pius; and, at the latter boundary, where Adrian had formed a rampart of earth, Severus employed his troops, for the space of two years, in building a stupendous wall of stone, twelve feet high, and eight feet thick, strengthened with many towers, castles, and stations, at convenient distances. The vestiges of this great work, called the Picts' Wall, are still visible.

Before the Romans left the island, they assisted in repairing this wall, which had fallen to decay through the injuries of time and of the enemy. The expense of this work

was defrayed by the cheerful contributions of the more opulent inhabitants, who considered it as one of the chief means of their future safety. But, as walls and bulwarks are of little use without brave and well-armed soldiers to defend them, the Roman general gave the Britons exact models of the several kinds of arms, with ample instructions how to make and to use them, in defence of their country, their wives, children, and liberties. He then departed with his troops, after South-Britain had been subject to the Romans about 340 years.

The Scots and Picts, finding the island finally deserted by the Roman legions, ravaged all before them with a fury peculiar to the northern nations in those ages, and which a remembrance of former injuries could not fail to aggravate. When they approached the wall, they found it in complete repair, and apparently well defended by armed Britons. But so little had these profited by the instructions of their late masters, that they became an easy conquest, and were soon put to flight. The enemy breaking in, like hungry wolves into a sheep-fold, pursued them with great slaughter, and drove them to the very sea. The miserable Britons, in this extremity, had once more recourse to the Romans; and in their famous letter, which they called *their groans*, told them, that they had no choice left, but that of being swallowed up by the sea, or perishing by the swords of the barbarians.

Amidst all their calamities, however, they had one consolation: they had embraced Christianity;—a religion which, above all others, teaches the endurance of misfortunes, which encourages its votaries to triumph in adversity, and inspires the soul with joy in the hour of affliction. As they could receive no assistance from Rome, the Britons began to consider what other nation they might call in to their relief. Vortigern, prince of the Danmonii, (inhabiting Cornwall and Devonshire,) then possessed the principal authority among them, by whose advice they requested and engaged two Saxon chiefs, Hengist and Horsa, to protect them from the Scots and Picts. The Saxons were in those days masters of what is now called the English Channel; and their native regions (comprehending Scandinavia and the northern parts of Germany) being overstocked with inhabitants, they readily accepted the invitation of the Britons, whose fears and present sufferings they relieved, by checking the progress of the enemy; for which service the Isle of Thanet was allotted

to them for their residence. But their own country was so barren, and the fertile lands of Britain so alluring, that, in a very short time, Hengist and Horsa began to meditate a settlement for themselves; and, fresh supplies of their countrymen frequently arriving, the Saxons soon became formidable to the Britons, whom, after a violent struggle, they subdued, or drove into Wales, where their language and descendants still remain.

CHAP. II.

RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

THE adoration of a plurality of gods, introduced among mankind by slow degrees, proceeded from various causes. The different names and attributes of the true God were, through mistake, adored as so many divinities. The sun, moon, and stars, the most striking and illustrious objects in nature, were at first viewed with great veneration, as the most glorious works and lively emblems of the Deity, and by degrees received marks of that devotion which was due only to God himself. Princes and great men, who had been the objects of universal admiration during life, were made the objects of adoration after death. The Britons had gods of all these kinds.

Offerings constituted an important part of their religion. They consisted of the most useful and excellent articles and products, and of such as, they thought, would be most agreeable to the gods. In their sacrifices they offered not only beasts, but the blood of captives taken in battle. They believed that their deities had the government of the world and the direction of future events in their hands; and that they would, upon proper application, discover these events to their pious worshipers. This belief gave rise to astrology, augury, magic lots, and an infinite multitude of religious rites and ceremonies, by which they hoped to discover the counsels of Heaven, with regard to themselves and their undertakings.

The priests, who taught the principles, and performed the offices, of religion among the ancient Britons, were called Druids. They enjoyed the highest honours and privileges. So great was the veneration in which they were held, that when two hostile armies, inflamed by warlike rage, with swords drawn and spears extended, were on the point of

engaging in battle, at their intervention they sheathed their swords, and became calm and peaceful.

Besides the Supreme Being, the Druids believed in an evil demon, who constantly opposed him. They believed also in *fate*, or predestination. This doctrine they inculcated with great care. They farther maintained the immortality of the soul, and a state of future rewards and punishments; in which every person respectively was to have that retribution, which his good or bad conduct in life deserved. In this futurity, they clothed the soul with a sort of airy vehicle, or lighter body, not altogether incapable of pleasure or pain.

Of the immortality of the soul, the Druids seem to have had a much more firm and invariable belief than the priests or philosophers of the Greeks and Romans, who, with the exception perhaps of a few instances, might be said rather to wish and hope for it, than steadily to embrace that consoling truth; whereas the Druids, by constantly teaching this doctrine, procured it not merely a vague and general, but a steady and prevailing, faith.

The state of bliss into which the souls of good and brave men were supposed by the Druids to enter immediately after their death, was called *Flath-ennis*, which signifies, *the island of the brave and virtuous*. In this island there was an eternal spring, and an immortal youth. There the sun always shed its kindest influence. Gentle breezes fanned it, and streams of ever-equal currents watered it. The trees were alive with music, and bending to the ground with flowers and fruit. The face of nature, ever unruffled and serene, diffused happiness on every creature, and wore a perpetual smile of joy. In short, every disagreeable idea was removed from the Druidical heaven, and no property was wanting there which could recommend a paradise. Indeed, the tradition concerning the first paradise, which in the earliest age of Druidism would be fresh and well known, might be the model on which it was formed. From the airy halls and other circumstances mentioned in the poems of Ossian, the situation of this happy place seems to have been in some calm upper region, beyond the reach of every evil which infests the lower world. This, it must be allowed, was a far more agreeable mansion for the enjoyment of sublime felicity, than that subterraneous region in which the Greeks and Romans placed their Elysian fields.

The Druids likewise believed in a place of future torment, which was a dreary gloomy region, frozen with perpetual cold;—an idea of punishment that seems very natural for a people, who lived in a climate where the inconveniences of excess of cold were more strongly felt than those of heat.

It was an article in the Druidical creed, “that it was unlawful to build temples to the gods, or to worship them within walls, and under roofs.” All their places of worship, therefore, were in the open air, in groves planted with those trees in which they most delighted. Of these, the chief was the strong and spreading oak, for which they had so high an esteem, that they did not perform the least religious ceremony, without being adorned with garlands of its leaves. In this veneration for the oak the Druids were not singular. The priests of other nations, and even the Hebrew patriarchs, seem to have entertained an almost equal veneration for that tree. The sacred groves were watered by some consecrated fountain or river, and surrounded by a ditch or mound, to prevent the intrusion of improper persons. In the centre of the grove was a circular area, enclosed with one or two rows of large stones, set perpendicularly in the earth. These constituted the temple, within which the altar stood, on which the sacrifices were offered. In some of their most magnificent temples, particularly that of Stonehenge, stones of prodigious weight were placed on the tops of the standing pillars, which formed a kind of circle in the air, and added much to the grandeur of the whole. Though the sacred groves of the Druids have been long destroyed, yet of the temples and cromlechs, or stone tables which were enclosed within them, there are still many vestiges remaining in the British isles, and other parts of Europe.

The religion of the Druids continued longer in Britain than in some other countries, having been revived first by the Saxons, and afterwards by the Danes. Even so late as the eleventh century, in the reign of Canute, it was found necessary to make the following law: “We strictly forbid all our subjects to worship the gods of the gentiles; that is to say, the sun, moon, fires, rivers, fountains, hills, or trees, and woods of any kind.”

With regard to Christianity, it is highly probable, from the concurring testimonies of several writers, and from other circumstances, that Britain was visited by the first rays of the Gospel, before the end of the first century. Eusebius,

bishop of Cæsarea, equally famous for his learning and integrity, who flourished at the beginning of the fourth century, and was in high favour with Constantine the Great, positively asserts, that the Christian religion was first preached in South-Britain by the apostles and their disciples: and it is reasonable to suppose, that the success of the Romans paved the way for the triumphs of the *Gospel of Peace*. It is certain also that many of the soldiers and officers in the Roman armies were Christians; and, as their legions were repeatedly sent over into Britain to extend, as well as to preserve, their conquests, it is more than probable, that Christianity was thus diffused among the natives.

After the suppression of the revolt under Boadicea, Britain enjoyed great tranquillity for many years, under a succession of mild governors, and presented an inviting asylum to Christians, who were cruelly persecuted in other parts, particularly at Rome. For the greatest part of that imperial city, having been reduced to ashes by a dreadful fire, A. D. 64. the tyrant Nero, in order to divert the suspicion of his having been the incendiary, laid the blame of it upon the Christians, and on that false pretence put great numbers of them to the most cruel kinds of death. Multitudes of them, therefore, fled into other countries; of whom not a few took shelter in this island, as a place of the greatest safety, and thereby much increased the number of Christians in Britain.

If any of the apostles visited this country, it was St. Paul, whose zeal, fortitude, and diligence, were abundant. For though Joseph of Arimathea and St. Peter are said to have preached the gospel, and Simon Zelotes to have suffered martyrdom here, yet these assertions rest on no better foundation than monkish legends. We have, however, good authority to say, that, in the year 182, there was a school of learning to provide the British churches with proper teachers; from which period it would appear that Christianity spread its benign and salutary influence among the inhabitants, in their several districts.

CHAP. III.

CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS, OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

THE fathers and heads of families were the first sovereigns, and the patriarchal was the most ancient form

of government. The first states or civil societies, therefore, were large tribes or clans, consisting of brothers, sisters, cousins, and other near relatives, living in the same district, under the protection of their common parent, or of his representative, the head of the tribe or family. But this government, in its most pure and simple form, was not of long duration. For, as these tribes became more numerous, they gradually approached nearer to one another. Disputes arose among them about their limits, their possessions, the honour and dignity of their chiefs, and many other points. These disputes produced wars; and each of the contending clans, in order to defend themselves and annoy their enemies, contracted alliances with one or more neighbouring clans, which were thereby in a little time consolidated into one large society. When Britain was invaded by the Romans, it contained many independent states, each composed of various tribes. Of this it will be sufficient to give one decisive proof. The Cantii, or people of Kent, at that period, formed one of the British kingdoms; and yet Caesar mentions no fewer than four kings in Kent at the same time, who could be no other than the chieftains or heads of so many clans or families of which that little kingdom was composed.

The counties of Essex and Middlesex, and some part of Surry, were possessed by the Trinobantes, or Trinovantes. The name of this nation seems to be derived from the three following British words, *Tri*, *Now*, and *Hant*, which signify the inhabitants of the new city; for by them London was founded, the most ancient name of which was *Tri-now*, or the *New City*. The Silures, or inhabitants of South-Wales, were unquestionably one of the bravest of the ancient British nations, and defended their country and their liberty against the Romans with the most heroic fortitude. According to Ptolemy, who flourished about the middle of the second century, there was not so much as one town among the Caledonii, the ancient inhabitants of the Highlands, and northern parts of Scotland. This seems to be a proof, that these nations, or rather tribes, at that period, led a wandering unsettled life, strangers to agriculture, subsisting on their flocks and herds, on what they caught in hunting, or gained by plunder, and on the spontaneous productions of the earth. The Texali, who were in possession of the sea-coasts, seem to have been more settled, and in a more advanced state of civilization. They had a town,

called *Devana*, at the mouth of the river *Deva*, or *Dee*, where Aberdeen now stands.

As both agriculture and commerce were in their infancy in this island, and extensive tracts of it were covered with woods and marshes, at the time of the first Roman invasion, it is highly probable that the country was not very populous. If we allow twenty thousand persons of both sexes to each of the thirty-eight nations, they will make in all 760,000. Some learned authors will not admit this number. But any computation much short of this must certainly be too low, when we consider what is said by Tacitus and Dio of the numerous armies of the Britons in those early ages.

The royal power was circumscribed within very narrow bounds. A fierce people, powerful and martial chieftains, and ministers of religion who had so much influence as the Druids, were not likely to submit to the will of a sovereign, as a supreme law. The kings commanded the forces of their respective states in time of war; but they could not imprison or punish any of their soldiers. This was wholly in the hands of the Druids. "None but the priests," says Tacitus, "can inflict confinement, stripes, or correction of any kind; and they do this, not at the command of the general, but in obedience to their gods, who, they pretend, are peculiarly present with their armies in war."

The laws, as well as other branches of learning among the ancient Britons, were couched in verse. Though this may appear extraordinary to us, it was far from being peculiar to the natives of Britain. The first laws of all nations were composed in verse, and sung. We have certain proof that the first laws of Greece were a kind of songs. The laws of the ancient inhabitants of Spain were verses, which they sang. This custom was long kept up by many nations, as they could more readily get them by heart, and retain them in memory.

That great law, the marriage of one man with one woman, which is so clearly pointed out by nature, was fully established among our ancestors. Their kings and queens were subject to it, as well as the meanest of the people; and when they presumed to violate it, they were hated and abandoned by the world. This appears from the story of *Cartimandua*, queen of the Brigantes, a people inhabiting Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and parts of Northumberland and Durham. "Corrupted by prosperity," says Tacitus, "she abandoned herself to luxury, and, despising

her husband *Venutius*, admitted her armour-bearer *Vellacatus* to his place in her throne and bed. This infamous action proved her ruin; for, as her subjects espoused the cause of her injured husband, she was reduced to the greatest distress, and implored the protection of the Romans. These sent an army to her relief, which rescued her person, and fought several battles in her cause; but she was at last obliged to leave her kingdom in the possession of *Venutius*."

Murderers and robbers were burned to death. Persons who betrayed or deserted the cause of their country were hanged on trees; and cowards, sluggards, habitual drunkards, and prostitutes, were suffocated in bogs.

The most valuable possessions of almost all nations, in the early period of their history, were their flocks and herds. Several of the British nations, when they were first visited by the Romans, had no other property or means of subsistence than their cattle. A high price, therefore, was set, not only upon the life, but upon each limb, of every useful animal. By the ancient laws of Wales it was forbidden, under certain penalties, to throw a stone at an ox in the plough, to tie the yoke too tight about his neck, or urge him to too great an effort in drawing. Very high damages were allowed to the husbandman whose crops were injured by the straying of his neighbour's stock. He was authorized to seize and retain one out of every three hogs, sheep, goats, geese, and hens, which he found among his corn.

It is probable that there were no laws among the ancient Britons to prevent or punish verbal injuries; which are so sensibly felt, and so fiercely resented, in modern times. Among the nations of antiquity, in general, the coarsest language was given and returned without ceremony, and was not considered as an object worthy of the attention of legislators.

By their laws of succession, a man's lands, at his death, did not descend to his eldest son, but were equally divided among all his sons; and, when any dispute arose in the division of them, it was determined by the Druids. Even the youngest son, it appears, was more favoured in some respects than the eldest, or any of his brothers. "When the brothers have divided their father's estate, the youngest shall have the best house, with all the office-houses, the implements of husbandry, his father's kettle, his axe for cutting wood, and his knife. These three last things the father cannot give away, nor leave by his last will, to any but his youngest son; and,

if they are pledged, they shall be redeemed." To account for this law is not very difficult. The elder brothers of a family were supposed to have left their father's house before his death, and to have obtained houses and necessary implements: but the youngest, by reason of his tender age, was considered as more helpless, and not so well provided.

With regard to the Roman government in this country, we shall only observe, that the Britons were made to *groan under a load of taxes*. The Romans imposed taxes on land, mines, houses, and several kinds of animals. Artists of all kinds paid a certain tax for the liberty of exercising their several arts. Those who administered to luxury, and made the greatest profits, paid the greatest sums; nor did the mighty monarchs of Rome disdain to claim a share in the dishonourable gains of female prostitution. The Roman emperors sometimes imposed a capitation, or poll-tax, which, with another upon the bodies of the dead before they were allowed to be buried, occasioned great discontent in Britain. The famous Boadicea complained bitterly of these two taxes in her harangue to the British army before the battle with the Romans, under Suetonius. "Have we not been deprived of our most valuable possessions, and do we not pay many heavy taxes for what remains? Besides all the various impositions on our lands and goods, are not our bodies taxed, and do we not pay for the very heads on our shoulders? But why do I dwell on their impositions upon the living, when even the dead are not exempted from their exactions? Do not you all know how much we are obliged to pay for the bodies of our departed friends? Those who are subject to other nations are subject only for life; but the exquisite tyranny and insatiable avarice of the Romans extort taxes even from the dead."*

CHAP. IV.

LEARNING AND LEARNED MEN AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

THE philosophy of the Druids bore a greater resemblance to that of Pythagoras, than to any system of the other sages of antiquity; the transmigration of souls being one of

* A heavy impost of the same kind exists at the present moment, which has induced a noble author to reprobate the illiberality of our financial ministers, whom he compares to vultures, watching an opportunity of preying upon the dead.

their doctrines. As this great philosopher visited many countries in pursuit of knowledge, he perhaps imparted his discourses to the Druids, and adopted some of their opinions.

Astronomy, geography, geometry, and arithmetic, were studied in this island at a very early period; for though the Britons were unacquainted with the Arabic characters of the last-mentioned science, we have no reason to suppose that they were destitute of marks or characters of some other kind, which answered the same purpose, both in making and recording their calculations. The letters of the Greek alphabet were probably used for both these purposes. This seems to be plainly intimated by Cæsar in the following expression concerning the Druids of Gaul: "In almost all their public transactions, and private accounts or computations, they make use of the Greek letters."

Monuments still remaining sufficiently evince, that the ancient Britons could apply the *science of mechanics*, so as to produce very astonishing effects. As these monuments appear to have been designed for religious purposes, it is scarcely to be doubted that they were erected under the direction of the Druids. How many obelisks, or pillars, are still to be seen on the tops of mountains, in Britain and its isles! we can hardly suppose that it was possible to cut these prodigious masses of stone (some of them above forty tons in weight) without wedges, or to raise them out of the quarries without levers. But it certainly required still greater knowledge of the mechanical powers, and of the methods of applying them, to transport those huge stones from the quarry to their places of destination.

The famous Julius Agricola was the first of the Roman governors of this island who gave any considerable attention to the concerns of learning. This illustrious person (being not only one of the greatest generals, but also one of the best and most learned men of the age in which he lived) took great pains to reconcile the provincial Britons to his government, by introducing amongst them the Roman arts and sciences. With this view, he persuaded the noble youth of Britain to learn the Latin language, and to apply to the study of the Roman eloquence. These persuasions were successful, because they were seasonable; and the British youth, being deprived of their former instructors, by the destruction and expulsion of the Druids, (which happened about this time,) willingly put themselves under those teachers who were provided for them by the Romans.

Though the names of some learned men, who flourished in Gaul in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, are still preserved, it must be confessed that we know very little of the *literati* of Britain in those times. This is chiefly the consequence of the dreadful havoc which was made, first by the Scots and Picts, and afterwards by the Saxons, among the monuments of Roman arts and learning in this island.

Sylvius Bonus was a learned Briton, who flourished in the fourth century, and was contemporary with the poet Ausonius, whose indignation he incurred by criticising his works. Ausonius wrote six epigrams against Sylvius, in which he reproached him chiefly on account of his country; for the sting of each epigram is this: "If Sylvius be good, he is not a Briton; or, if he be a Briton, he is not good; for a Briton cannot be a good man."

St. Ninian, who was one of the chief instruments of propagating the Christian religion in the northern part of this island, among the Scots and Picts, was a Briton of noble birth and excellent genius. After he had received as good an education as his own country could afford, he passed several years at Rome, which was then the chief seat of learning, as well as of empire. Thence he returned into Britain, and spent his life in preaching the gospel in the most uncultivated parts of it, with equal zeal and success.

St. Patrick, the famous apostle of the Irish, was also a Briton of a good family and ingenuous disposition. Having received the first part of his education at home, he studied a considerable time under the celebrated *St. Germanus*, bishop of Arles. He afterwards visited Rome, where, by the depth of his learning and the sanctity of his manners, he gained the esteem and friendship of *Celestine*, bishop of that city, who advised him to employ his great talents in attempting to civilize the people of Ireland, and to instruct them in the knowledge of the Christian religion. He readily undertook the arduous task of instructing and converting an ignorant nation; and his pious labours were crowned with astonishing success.

The famous heretic *Pelagius*, whose real name is believed to have been Morgan, was born in that part of Britain, which is now called North-Wales, on the 13th of November, 354, the same day with his great antagonist, *St. Augustin*.

Even the most northern parts of this island produced some men of learning in this period. *Celestius*, the disciple and friend of *Pelagius*, was a Scotchman, who acquired great

reputation by his writings, about the beginning of the fifth century. He defended and propagated the peculiar opinions of his master *Pelagius*, with so much learning, zeal, and success, that those who embraced these opinions were frequently called *Celestians*.

CHAP. V.

OF THE ARTS IN GREAT-BRITAIN, BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS, A.D. 449.

THE first arts were those of hunting, pasturage, and agriculture. As soon as the Romans had obtained a firm establishment in Britain, agriculture began to be very much improved and extended. This was an art in which that renowned people greatly delighted, and which they encouraged in all the provinces of their empire. "When the Romans," says *Cato*, "intended to bestow the highest praise on a good man, they used to say, he understands agriculture well, and is an excellent husbandman; for this was esteemed the greatest and most honourable character." As soon, therefore, as the Romans had subdued any of the British states, they endeavoured by various means to bring their new subjects to cultivate the land, in order to render their conquest more valuable.

As in early times the Britons had no better food than the spontaneous productions of the earth, or the animals which they took in hunting, so they had no better lodgings than thickets, dens, and caves. Their winter-habitations and places of retreat in time of war, being dug deep in the ground and covered with earth, were rendered secure and warm by art. Some of these subterraneous houses are still remaining in Cornwall, and in the western isles of Scotland. The summer-habitations of the most ancient Britons were very slight, and consisted only of a few stakes driven into the ground, interwoven with wattles, and covered with the boughs of trees. They next proceeded to form the walls of large beams of wood; which was the mode of building in Britain when it was first invaded by the Romans. These wooden houses were not square, but circular, with high tapering roofs, at the top of which was an aperture for the admission of light and emission of smoke. The foundations of some of the largest houses of this description were of stone, of which there are some vestiges still remaining in Anglesey and other

parts. It was in imitation of these wooden houses that the most ancient stone edifices were built in a circular form, and had a large aperture at the top. The palaces of the British princes were built of the same materials, and on the same plan with the houses of their subjects, and differed from them only in solidity and magnitude.

"What the Britons call a town," says Strabo, "is a tract of woody country, surrounded by a mound and ditch, for the security of themselves and cattle against the incursions of their enemies." The forests of the Britons were their cities; for, when they had enclosed a very large circuit with felled trees, they built within the enclosure houses for themselves, and hovels for their cattle. These buildings were very slight, and not designed for long duration.

But, as soon as the Romans began to form settlements and plant colonies in the island, a sudden and surprising change ensued in the state of architecture. The first Roman colony was planted at Camulodunum, within the circuit of the modern county of Essex; but the town was destroyed by the Britons, nine years after its erection, in their great revolt under Boadicea. It appears to have been a large and well-built town, adorned with statues, temples, theatres, and other public edifices. But London affords a still more striking example of the rapid progress of the Roman architecture in this island. There was either no town in that place, or, at most, only a British town or *enclosed forest*, at the time of the first Roman invasion. But it had not been in the possession of the Romans many years, before it became a rich, populous, and beautiful city.

A knowledge of the art of war being necessary, all the young men among the ancient Britons, as well as other Celtic nations, were trained to the use of arms from their early youth, continued in the exercise of them to their old age, and were always ready to appear, when called by their leaders into actual service. Their very diversions and amusements were of a martial and manly cast, and contributed greatly to increase their agility, strength, and courage;—a circumstance which is, perhaps, too much neglected in the military discipline of modern times.

Mankind have naturally a taste for imitation; and from this taste some of their most innocent pleasures are derived. Of this kind are the two imitative arts of *sculpture* and *painting*. The idea of forming images of men and other animals of clay and wax, and other soft substances, which

are easily moulded into any form, is so natural and obvious, that the practice of it has been very ancient and universal. When the Britons had arrived at some dexterity at working in wood, they began to adorn these works with various figures; particularly their war-chariots, which were curiously carved, and on which they lavished all their art.

When the authority of the Druids had been superseded by that of the Romans, statues were introduced into the temples, as well as into public and private houses. At the departure of the Romans, however, they carried off some of the most admired pieces of sculpture; and most of those that remained, together with the edifices which they adorned, were destroyed by the Scots and Picts in their incursions, and by the Saxons in their long wars. The few pieces which have escaped all these accidents and the injuries of time, and are now preserved with care in the repositories of the curious, are chiefly figures cut on altars, and particular stones, in *basso-relievo*. Some of these are in a fine and delicate taste.

Painting is another of the pleasing and imitative arts, representing visible objects on smooth surfaces, by lines and colours. Some rude beginnings of this art have been discovered among the most savage nations; and the first essays of it were certainly very ancient in this island. Cæsar, Pliny, and Herodian, mention the British practice of body-painting. "All the Britons stain themselves with woad, which makes their skins of a blue colour. They draw upon their naked bodies the figures of animals of all kinds, which they esteem so great an ornament, that they wear no clothes, that these figures may be exposed to view." We learn from other authors, that this body-painting was a distinct trade or profession in those times; and that the artist began his work by making the intended figures upon the skin with the punctures of sharp needles, that it might the better imbibe and retain the colouring. This is said to have been a very painful operation. When these figures were made on the body in childhood, as they commonly were, they grew and enlarged with it, and continued upon it through life. Persons of inferior rank had but few of these figures, of a small size, and coarse workmanship, painted on their bodies; but those of better families had them in greater numbers, of larger dimensions, and more elegantly executed, according to their different degrees of nobility. "The name of the Picts," says Isidorus, "corresponds very well with the

appearance of their bodies; for they squeeze the juice of certain herbs into figures made on their bodies with the points of needles, and so carry the badges of their nobility on their spotted skins."

There is not any one circumstance in the history of the ancient Britons more surprising than that of their early and admirable taste for *poetry*. At a time when they were almost naked, and without tolerable lodgings, and when they chiefly depended on what they caught in hunting for their subsistence, they composed sublime and beautiful poems, of various kinds, on many different subjects. The ardour of their devout affections, their enthusiasm for warlike exploits, and their admiration of the beauties of the fair sex, doubtless inspired the first poets; and, as they knew nothing of writing, men of genius soon perceived that their compositions could not be circulated among their contemporaries, or transmitted to posterity, if they did not clothe them in melodious numbers, and adorn them with the charms of poetry.

Our ancestors, and all the Celtic nations, composed hymns in honour of their gods, which they sang at their sacrifices and other religious solemnities. †

As war was the great business and chief delight of the ancient British princes, so it was one of the most frequent subjects of the songs of their poets; for it was their opinion that martial songs enlivened war, supported the yielding fight, and inflamed the courage of the combatants. Sometimes, indeed, when the bards did not approve a war, they sang such mild pacific strains as calmed the rage of armies ready to engage, and brought about a peace. Thus, even among these fierce barbarians, rage gave way to wisdom, and Mars yielded to the Muses.

Next to the martial feats of heroes, the charms of the fair, and the cares and joys of virtuous love, were the most frequent and delightful subjects of the songs of the ancient British bards. Their descriptions of female beauty are always short and delicate; expressive of the modesty and innocence of the minds of the ladies, as well as of the charms of their persons. "Half hid in her shady grove, Roscrana raised the song. Her white hand rose on the harp. I beheld her blue rolling eyes. She was like a spirit of heaven half-folded in the skirts of a cloud. She rose bright amidst my troubled soul. She came with bending eye, amidst the wandering of her heavenly looks*."

* Ossian.

The ancient inhabitants of Britain, as well as of many other countries, had at least as great a taste and fondness for music as they had for poetry. Music is natural to mankind, who have been accustomed to singing in all ages, and in all countries. Vocal music, perhaps in imitation of the feathered songsters of the woods and groves, was here, and every where, more ancient than instrumental. In the first stages of society, the two sister arts of poetry and music seem to have been always united; every poet was a musician, and sang his own verses to the sound of some instrument. This was one of those circumstances which rendered the music of the ancients so affecting, and enabled it to produce such strong emotions of rage, love, joy, grief, and other passions in the hearers, by conveying the pathetic strains of poetry to their hearts, in the most rousing, softening, joyous, or plaintive sounds.

Though the ancient Britons were not altogether unacquainted with wind-instruments of music, yet they seem to have delighted chiefly in the lyre or harp. They sang and played by the ear, and their tunes, as well as their poems, were handed down from one age to another.

CHAP. VI.

COMMERCE, COIN, AND SHIPPING, OF BRITAIN IN THE EARLY AGES.

THE Phœnicians are generally believed to have been the inventors of navigation and foreign trade, and the instructors of other nations in their most useful arts. They were the boldest and most expert mariners, the greatest and most successful merchants of antiquity. Some writers are of opinion, that this island was discovered by that adventurous people before the Trojan war; and, if we could be certain that the tin, in which the Tyrians or Phœnicians traded in the days of the prophet Ezekiel, was brought from Britain, we should be obliged to embrace this opinion. But, as we know that they found great quantities of tin, as well as of more precious metals, in Spain, we cannot fix the æra of their arrival in Britain from this circumstance.

It is not probable that the Phœnicians planted any colonies, or built any cities, in Britain. We may suppose, that they contented themselves with making occasional voyages into this part of the world, for the sake of trade. The commo-

dities exported by them were tin, lead, and the skins both of wild and tame animals. Under this last article was comprehended the excellent wool of the British sheep, which must have been of great use to these traders in their woollen manufactures.

Though the Phœnicians were rich in gold and silver, they made no use of coin in their commerce with the people of Britain. That people had, in those times, no idea of the nature or use of money; and the Phœnicians profited too much by their ignorance, to give them any insight into those important points of commercial knowledge. They acted in the same manner towards the ancient Britons as the Europeans acted towards the people of America, on their first discovery of that country. They gave things of small price in exchange for the most valuable commodities. Salt, earthen-ware, and trinkets made of brass, were the articles they carried into Britain. The first and second of these were indeed useful, but of easy purchase, and were probably sold at an exorbitant rate to the unskilful Britons. The articles made of brass were chiefly of the ornamental kind, as chains for their necks, rings, bracelets, and the like, of which the Britons were remarkably fond.

Though the Britons had some iron at the arrival of the Romans, yet, as Cæsar observes, they had it only in small quantities, hardly sufficient for their home-consumption, and none to spare for exportation. But, after the Romans had been some time settled in this island, this most useful metal became very abundant, and made a part of the British exports.

Gems, and particularly pearls, which were esteemed by the Romans the most precious and excellent of all commodities, were exported from Britain at this period. Cæsar, after his return from this island, consecrated a breast-plate of great value and beauty to Venus, in her temple at Rome, which, according to the inscription that accompanied it, was composed of British pearls. Yet it is probable that the pearls of our island were inferior to those of India and Arabia in general, though some of them might be remarkable for their size and beauty.

As Britain abounded in cattle of all kinds, we may be certain that they furnished the merchants of those times with several articles for exportation. The British horses were so beautiful, and so admirably trained, that they were much admired by the Romans, and exported for the saddles of their great men, and for mounting their cavalry.

It will perhaps appear ridiculous to many readers to be informed, that the British dogs constituted no inconsiderable article in the exports of this period. But, in the hunting and pastoral stages of society, these faithful animals are the favourite companions and most useful possessions of men; and, even in a more advanced period of civilization, they contribute not a little to our amusement. Those dogs were of different kinds. But the greatest numbers, and those which bore the highest price, were designed for hunting, and excelled all others, both in their swiftness and exquisite scent. They are thus described by Oppian:

"There is a kind of dogs of mighty fame,
 "For hunting, worthy of a fairer frame:
 "By painted Britons brave in war they're bred,
 "Are beagles call'd, and to the chase are led:
 "Their bodies small, and of so mean a shape,
 "You'd think them curs that under tables gape."

The goods imported into Britain, according to Strabo, were ivory bridles, gold chains, cups of amber, and drinking glasses. But, after the Roman conquest, the imports unavoidably became much more various and valuable. Besides wine, spices, and many other articles for their tables, the Britons soon found it useful to import the greatest number of their tools, arms, furniture, clothing, and many other things.

When metals were first used as money, and made the common price of all commodities, their value was determined only by their weight. The seller having agreed to accept a certain quantity of gold, silver, or brass, for his goods, the buyer cut off that quantity from the plate or ingot of that metal in his possession; and, having weighed it, delivered it to the seller, and received the goods. But this method of transacting business was attended with much trouble, and was liable to various frauds, both in the weight and fineness of the metals used in commerce. It was, therefore, ordained by the laws of several ancient nations, that all the metal used as money should be divided into small pieces, and stamped with certain marks.

As a considerable number of gold coins were found in 1749, on the top of Karn-bre, in Cornwall, which are supposed to have belonged to the ancient Britons, it may have been discovered that this island produced gold and silver not long after the first invasion of the Romans. The figures that were first stamped on the coins of all nations, (espe-

cially of those nations whose chief riches consisted in their flocks and herds,) were those of oxen, horses, hogs, and sheep. We may therefore conclude, that those coins of any country which have only the figures of *cattle* stamped upon them, and perhaps of *trees*, representing the woods in which their cattle pastured, were the most ancient coins of that country. Some of the gold coins found at Karn-bre, and described by Dr. Borlase, are of this kind, and may be deemed the *most ancient* of our British coins.

When sovereigns became sensible of the great importance of money, and took the fabrication of it under their own direction, they ordered their own heads to be stamped on one side of their coins, while the figures of some animals still continued to be impressed on the other side. Of this kind are some of the Karn-bre coins, with a royal head on one side, and a horse on the other, which we may suppose to have been struck in a more advanced state of the British coinage.

Floats or rafts are believed, by most authors, to have been the first kind of water-carriage. To these succeeded *canoes*, made of one very large tree *excavated*, to secure its freight from being wetted or washed away :

"*Tunc alnos primum fluvii sensere cavatas.*"
"Then first on seas the hollow alder swam."

As uncultivated nations wanted proper tools for sawing large trees into planks, the most ancient vessels or boats in several countries were made of osiers, and the flexible branches of trees interwoven as close as possible, and covered with skins. "The sea, which flows between Britain and Ireland," says Cæsar, "is so unquiet and stormy, that it is only navigable in summer; when the people of these countries pass and repass it in small boats made of wattles, and covered carefully with the hides of oxen."

After the Roman conquest, when London, in the reign of A. D. 61. Nero, was become a great city, abounding in merchants and merchandise, it certainly abounded also in shipping. And when, in the year 359, no fewer than eight hundred ships were employed in the exportation of corn, the whole number employed in the British trade must have been very great.

Towards the end of the third century, when the Frank and Saxon pirates began to infest the seas, we may form some idea of the greatness of the British fleets by observing the

vast preparations that were made against them for several years. The emperor Constantius did not think it safe to put to sea, or to attempt the recovery of Britain, till he had collected a fleet of a thousand sail; and, after all, his success in that enterprise is ascribed more to his good fortune in passing the British fleet in a thick fog than to his superior force. The high encomiums bestowed on Constantius, for this exploit of recovering Britain, afford another proof of its great importance on account of its naval force. "O happy victory! (exclaims his panegyrist,) comprehending many victories and innumerable triumphs. By it Britain is restored, the Franks are exterminated, and many nations, which had conspired together, are constrained to make submission. Rejoice, O invincible Cæsar! for thou hast conquered another world, and, by restoring the glory of the naval power of Rome, hast added to her empire a greater element than the whole earth."

By the departure of the Romans, the Britons suffered as much in their maritime affairs as in any respect whatever. The Roman fleets and garrisons being withdrawn, the British ships became an easy prey to the Frank and Saxon pirates at sea, and were not secure even in their harbours.

CHAP. VII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

THE most agreeable and entertaining part of history is, perhaps, that which exhibits a view of manners. They who delight in observing the various passions, foibles, and humours, of mankind in real life, will view with pleasure a delineation of the manners, customs, and characters, of nations during their several periods.

The ancient Britons were remarkable for the size and stature of their bodies, and for their fair complexions. The women, in particular, excelled in the fairness and softness of their persons. The hair of the Caledonians, or North-Britons, is said to have been of a reddish cast; and that of the Silures, or people of South-Wales, most commonly curled. All the Celtic nations had blue eyes, which were esteemed very beautiful. Their voices, when they exerted them with a view to excite terror, were exceedingly loud, horrid, and frightful.—"Now Fingal arose in his might, and

thrice he reared his voice. Cromla answered around, and the sons of the desert stood still."

The Britons were as remarkable for their strength, as for the bulk, of their bodies. They excelled in running, swimming, wrestling, climbing, and all kinds of bodily exercises. They could patiently endure the greatest difficulties. "The Caledonians," says an accurate writer, "are accustomed to fatigues, to bear hunger, cold, and all manner of hardships. They run into the morasses up to the neck, and live there several days without eating." But they were not capable of bearing much heat or thirst; and they exerted their strength with so much violence on their first assault upon an enemy, that it was soon exhausted.

The following poetical picture of an ancient Briton, in the prime of his strength and beauty, was drawn from the life by the hand of a master: "Was he white as the snow of Ardrén? Blooming as the bow of the shower? Was his hair like the mist of the hill, soft and curling in the day of the sun? Was he like the thunder of heaven in battle? Fleet as the roe of the desert?"

Nature was not less liberal to the Britons in the faculties of their minds, than in the formation of their bodies. They were acute and ingenious, and very capable of acquiring any art or science to which they applied. Julius Agricola loaded with praises the young men of Britain, who studied the Roman language and learning, and declared, that they excelled the youths of Gaul in genius.

Valour in war was the most admired and popular virtue of the ancient Britons. They were accustomed, almost from their infancy, to handle arms, and to sing the glorious actions of their ancestors. This inspired their young hearts with an impatient desire of engaging the enemy. As they advanced in years, they were made fully sensible, that every thing in life depended on their courage. The smiles of the fair, the favour of the great, the praise of the bards, the applause of the people, and even happiness after death, were only to be obtained by brave and daring exploits in war.—"Mine arm rescued the feeble, the haughty found my rage was fire. For this my fathers shall meet me at the gates of their airy halls, tall, with robes of light, with mildly-kindled eyes."

Their courage was accompanied and ennobled by a love of liberty. To this powerful passion their leaders constantly addressed themselves in all their harangues; and by

this were they animated to make so long and obstinate a resistance to their invading foes. The character which a celebrated historian gives of them, even after they had submitted to the Roman government, before they were enervated by Roman luxury, is probably just, and is certainly honourable. "The Britons," says Tacitus, "are a people who pay their taxes, and obey the laws with pleasure, *provided that no arbitrary and illegal demands be made upon them*; but these they cannot bear without the greatest impatience; for they are only reduced to the state of subjects, not of slaves."

Hospitality was one of the most shining virtues of the ancient Britons. As soon as they beheld the face of a stranger, they felt sincere joy at his arrival, accosted him in the most friendly manner, and gave him the warmest invitations to enter their doors, which flew open for his reception. It was even long esteemed infamous for a chieftain to shut the door of his house at all; lest, as the bards expressed it, the stranger should come, and behold his contracted soul. As soon as the stranger accepted the friendly invitation, and entered the hospitable door, water was presented to him to wash his feet; and if he received and used it, and at the same time delivered his arms to the master of the house, it was understood as an intimation that he intended to favour him with his company for some time, at least for one night. This diffused joy over the whole mansion. The music of the harp began, and an entertainment was immediately prepared and served up, as sumptuous as the entertainer could afford. Hospitality of a similar kind continued to be practised long after this period, by the genuine posterity of the ancient Britons in Wales and the islands of Scotland; and even to this day there are unfrequented parts of these countries where it is to be found the same in spirit and substance, though robbed of its splendid and captivating exterior.

The Britons were famous for the warmth of their natural affections, their duty to their parents and superiors, and their inviolable attachment to their friends and family. All the young men of a clan, or tribe, treated the old men with the respect due to parents; and those of the same age behaved towards one another as brothers. Nothing could equal the respect, affection, and firm attachment, which every family bore to its head or chieftain. For his safety and honour, every friend was ready to expose his own life to the most imminent danger. In a word, all the members of a clan were animated with one spirit; and whoever did an

injury or offered an affront to one of them, drew upon himself the resentment of the whole. This family affection, or clanship, is hardly yet extinguished in some parts of this island.

Their new-born infants were plunged into some lake or river, even in the winter-season, with a view to try the strength of their constitutions, and to harden their bodies. Every woman nursed her own children, without having the least idea that it was possible for any other woman to perform that parental office. The sons of all ranks of men were allowed to run, wrestle, jump, swim, climb, and, in a word, to do what they pleased without any restraint, till they began to advance towards manhood. To this continual exercise and perfect liberty, together with the simplicity of their diet, Cæsar ascribes the great strength of body, and boldness of spirit, to which the youth of these nations attained.

As war was the favourite profession of the ancient Britons, they had some remarkable customs in the prosecution of it. When an unfortunate chieftain implored the protection and assistance of another, he approached the place of his residence with a bloody shield in one hand, to intimate the death of his friends, and a broken spear in the other, to represent his own incapacity to revenge it. When one chieftain entered the territories of another on a friendly visit, he and his followers carried their spears inverted, with their points behind them; but, when they came with a hostile intention, they carried them with the points before. Invaders never neglected to draw blood from the first animal they met on the enemy's ground, and to sprinkle it upon their colours. When two hostile armies were stationed near each other, it was the constant custom of the commanders of both to retire from their troops, and spend the night before a battle in meditating on the dispositions they intended to make during the approaching action. When two British kings or chiefs made peace, or entered into an alliance, they generally confirmed the agreement by feasting together, by exchanging arms, and sometimes by drinking a few drops of each other's blood, which was esteemed a most sacred and inviolable bond of friendship.

The tender affection which subsists among near relatives and dear friends, has, in all ages and countries, disposed the survivors to pay certain honours to the dead, and to commit their remains to the earth with some peculiar ceremonies.

It was the custom of the British nations in the South, and of the Gauls, to throw into the funeral pile, on which the body was burned, those things, and even those animals, in which the deceased had most delighted; and sometimes they even threw into the flaming pile such of his servants and friends as had been his greatest favourites, and all were reduced to ashes together in the same fire. With the ashes of the deceased, they buried his books of accounts, and the notes of hand for the sums of money which he had lent whilst alive, that he might exact the payment of them in the other world. The sepulchral urns were usually deposited under barrows, or large circular heaps of earth and stones. But, as the bones of men lying at full length, and without any marks of burning, have been found in some barrows, it appears that on some occasions the South-Britons buried their dead without burning. This was the constant practice of the Caledonians, whose manner of burying their dead is thus described by one who had the best opportunities of being acquainted with their customs: "They opened a grave six or eight feet deep; the bottom was lined with fine clay, on which they laid the body of the deceased; and, if a warrior, his sword and the heads of twelve arrows by his side. Above, they laid another stratum of clay, in which they placed the horn of a deer, the symbol of hunting. The whole was covered with a fine mould, and four stones were placed on their ends to mark the extent of the grave. The bows of warriors, as well as their swords and arrows, were deposited in their graves. These graves were marked sometimes only with one, and sometimes with two stones; and sometimes a cairn or barrow was raised over them. The favourite dogs of the deceased were often buried near them. But the most important and essential accompaniment of sepulture, among the ancient Britons, was the funeral song, containing the praises of the deceased, sung by a number of bards to the music of their harps, when the body was deposited in the grave. To want a funeral song was esteemed the greatest misfortune and disgrace, as they believed that without it their spirits could enjoy no rest or happiness in a future state."

The language, which was spoken by the Britons at the time of the Roman invasion, was a dialect of the Celtic, which had been the language of all the nations of Europe descended from Gomer, and still continued to be spoken by the people of Gaul, and several other countries. A convincing proof of this is, that the names of the generality of British

rivers, hills, mountains, towns, and cities, are significant in that language, and descriptive of their situations, properties, and appearances. For the *first inhabitants* of every country are under a necessity of giving names immediately to those objects about which they have daily occasion to converse; and these primitive names are naturally no other than brief descriptions of the most striking appearances and obvious properties of these objects in their native tongue. Dialects of the Celtic still continue to be spoken in Wales, in the Highlands and western islands of Scotland, and in Ireland, as well as some places on the continent; for, though the Romans endeavoured to introduce not only their laws and government, but also their language, into all the countries which they conquered, they failed in this last attempt in several provinces of their empire, and particularly in Britain. Some of the noble youth of the provincial Britons were prevailed upon to learn the Latin tongue, and to study the Roman eloquence: but even these did not discontinue the use of their native language, and the body of the people neither understood nor spoke any other. As the Romans never conquered the Caledonians, they cannot be supposed to have made any change in their language, which is now spoken by their posterity in the Highlands, with less variation from the original Celtic than in any other part of Europe.

With regard to dress, though the first inhabitants of every country go almost naked, yet the decent custom of wearing clothes of some kind or other had become very general in Britain before it was invaded by the Romans. The Caledonians, indeed, are said to have been naked in the beginning of the third century. As the Romans, however, hardly ever saw them, but in a warlike posture, or engaged in some military expedition, they might imagine them to be naked when they were not absolutely so; because it was the constant custom of that people to throw off nearly all their clothes before they advanced to battle, that they might not be encumbered by them in the action. The upper garment of the ancient Britons, and of all the other Celtic nations, was the mantle or plaid. This was a piece of cloth of a square form, sufficiently large to cover the whole body. It was fastened upon the breast, or one of the shoulders, with a clasp, or with a thorn, or sharp-pointed piece of wood. As this garment succeeded the mantles made of the skins of some of the larger animals, which had formerly been worn by all the Celtic nations, it was made to imitate these skins in their

shape and form; and in several countries, particularly in Britain, those who were poor, or less civilized, still continued to wear skins, while those who were more wealthy, or more improved, were clad in plaids. Close trowsers, resembling our *pantaloons*, were next introduced. These garments, which were both graceful and convenient, and displayed the fine shape and turn of their limbs to great advantage, were used by the posterity of the Caledonians in the Highlands of Scotland till very lately, and are hardly yet laid aside in some remote corners of that country. They likewise wore a vest, or tunic, adjusted exactly to the shape and size of the body, fastened before with clasps, and reaching no lower than the groin. These vests had sleeves which covered the arms, at first only as far as the elbows, but afterwards down to the wrists. For some time after this garment was invented, it was used only by persons of rank and wealth; but, by degrees, it came into common use. Instead of shoes, they had a piece of the skin of a horse, cow, or other animal, tied about the feet with the hair outwards.

The ancient Britons were extremely proud of the length and beauty of their hair. It is said to have been the last request of a captive warrior, who was condemned to be beheaded, that no slave might be permitted to touch his hair, and that it might not be stained with his blood. We seldom meet with a description of a fine woman, or handsome man, in the poems of Ossian, in which the hair is not mentioned as one of the greatest beauties of the portrait. Not contented with the natural colour of their hair, which was commonly fair or yellow, they made use of certain washes to make it still brighter. They shaved all their beards, except the upper lip, the hair of which they allowed to grow to a very inconvenient length.

Most of the inhabitants of this island lived for some time on the spontaneous productions of the earth, in their natural state, with little or no preparation. At the time of the Roman invasion, however, they had great herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, whose flesh and milk yielded them a variety of substantial dishes. They used little bread at their entertainments, but a great quantity of flesh, which they either boiled, broiled on the coals, or roasted on spits. They had also venison, game, and poultry of all kinds, though they were restrained, by some superstitious fancy, from using as food either hares, hens, or geese. They were not ignorant of the art of salting flesh; but their salt had a very dif-

ferent appearance from ours, and was made by the following process:—They raised a pile of trees, chiefly oaks and hazels, set it on fire, and reduced it to charcoal; upon which, while it was still red-hot, they poured a certain quantity of salt water, which converted the whole mass into a kind of salt of a black colour.

The Caledonians had the art of roasting their acorns and other wild fruits, grinding them into meal, and making them into a kind of bread. The following account of their manner of dressing venison for a feast may serve as a sufficient specimen of their cookery. A pit, lined with smooth stones, was made, and near it stood a heap of flint-stones. The stones, as well as the pit, were properly heated with heath. Then they laid some venison in the bottom, and a stratum of stones above it, and this they did alternately, till the pit was full. The whole was covered over with heath, to confine the steam. This was evidently a very laborious process, and required the assistance of many hands. Accordingly, the greatest heroes did not disdain to assist in preparing the feast of which they were to partake. "It was on Cromla's shaggy side that Douglas placed the deer; the early fortune of the chase before the heroes left the hill. A hundred youths collect the heath; ten heroes blow the fire; three hundred choose the polished stones. The feast is smoking wide."

Water was the only drink of the most ancient inhabitants of this island; but it was not long before they began to use the milk of animals, as being more warm, pleasant, and nourishing. Previous to the introduction of agriculture, mead, or honey diluted with water, and fermented, was the only strong liquor known to the Britons. This continued to be a favourite beverage among them long after they had become acquainted with other liquors. The *mead-maker* was the eleventh person in dignity in the courts of the ancient prince of Wales, and took place of the *physician*. The following ancient law of the principality shews how much this liquor was esteemed by the British princes: "There are three things in the court which must be communicated to the king before they are made known to any other person, namely, *every sentence of the judge, every new song, and every cask of mead.*" This was perhaps the liquor which is called, by Ossian, the joy and strength of the shells with which his heroes were so much delighted.

After the introduction of agriculture, ale or beer became

the general drink of the British nations. "All the nations," says Pliny, "who inhabit the west of Europe, have a liquor with which they intoxicate themselves, made of corn and water. So exquisite is the cunning of mankind in gratifying their various appetites, that they have thus invented a method to make water itself intoxicate."

If the Phœnicians or Greeks imported any wine into Britain, it was only in very small quantities. That most generous liquor was very little known in this island, before it was conquered by the Romans. After that period, wine was not only imported from the continent in considerable quantities, but some attempts were made to cultivate vines, and to make wine in Britain.

Breakfast and supper were the only meals of the ancient Britons, at the latter of which they ate and drank with great freedom, and often to excess. The guests sat in a circle upon the ground, with a little hay, grass, or the skin of some animal, under them. Every guest took the meat set before him in his hands, and, tearing it with his teeth, fed upon it in the best manner he could. If any part of the meat could not be easily separated, a large knife lay in a particular place for the benefit of the whole company. The dishes, in which the meat was served up, were either of wood or earthen-ware, or baskets made of osiers. These last were most used by the Britons, as they very much excelled in the art of making them, both for their own use, and for exportation. Their drinking-vessels were made of the horns of oxen and other animals; but those of the Caledonians consisted of large shells, which are still used by some of their posterity in the Highlands of Scotland.

They indulged themselves in feasting as often as they had an opportunity. No public assembly was held, either for civil or religious purposes, no birth-day, marriage, or funeral, could be celebrated without a *great feast*; and it seemed to be the general opinion, that no treaty of peace, or alliance, could be properly cemented without such an entertainment. It was by frequent festivities that the chieftains gained the affections and rewarded the services of their followers; and those who made the greatest feasts were sure to be most popular. These convivial meetings were accompanied with music and dancing. The songs of bards arose; the voice of sprightly mirth was heard; the trembling harps of joy were strung; and the youth of both sexes danced for the amusement of the company, and for their own gratification.

As hunting was an introduction to the art of war, it became a favourite diversion of the ancient Britons. By this exercise the young chieftains paid their court to the fair objects of their love, by displaying their agility before them, and making them presents of their game. So strong and general was the passion for hunting, that young ladies of the highest rank and greatest beauty spent much of their time in the chase. "Comhal was the son of Albion, the chief of a hundred hills. One was his love, and fair was she, the daughter of mighty Conloch. Her bow-string sounded on the winds of the forest. Their course in the chase was one, and happy were their words in secret."

CHAP. VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

THE armories of the Britons were furnished with helmets, coats of mail, shields, and chariots, and with spears, daggers, swords, battle-axes, and bows. The helmet, coat of mail, and chariot, were confined to the chiefs, whilst the common soldiers always fought on foot. The shield was like the target of our present Highlanders, slight, generally round, and always bossy. The sword was like that of some mountaineers, large, heavy, and unpointed. The dagger was similar to their dirk. The British chariots had their wheels frequently furnished with scythes like the Gallic, were always drawn by two horses, and carried sometimes two persons, the driver and the warrior, and sometimes only one.

The Romans do not appear to have fostered any prejudices in the Britons, against the habits of their fathers. They did not endeavour, with the policy of the Tartar conquerors of China, to assimilate the natives to themselves in the distinguishing exteriors of dress. The general drapery of the nation was British, improved only with some additions from the Roman wardrobe. The British gentlemen, like the Gallic, retained their ancient ornament of chains; and the Britons, in general, did not adopt the Roman *pileus* as a covering for the head, but continued the use of their own caps, and such bonnets as are worn by the peasants in Scotland.

The privileges of the great officers of the British court were particularly striking. They were all presented annually with a piece of linen and woollen cloth by the king and queen, and regularly gratified besides with old clothes from the royal wardrobe. The king's riding coat was three times a year given away to the master of the mews; his caps, saddles, bits, and spurs, became the perquisite of the master of the horse; and the chamberlain appropriated to himself his old clothes and old bed-quilts. The chamberlain of our own court, even in the reign of Edward the First, by the ancient custom, received the king's old coverlets, curtains, and bedding. Even to this day he receives, at a coronation, the furniture of the chamber, the bed, and the bed-dress in which the sovereign slept the night before. But, in the palaces of the Britons, this principle was carried so far, that even the wardrobes of the officers were, in some cases, inheritable by their inferiors. These were not all their privileges. They had a right to stated messes of meat when they gave entertainments in their own apartments; the president of the palace being entitled to three dishes, and three horns of the best liquor, and the master of the mews to three horns and one dish. But the latter was cautiously required to bring his cup in person to the hall, at every repletion of it, lest he should drink too much, and neglect his birds. And if, in hunting, the master of the mews killed, in the king's presence, one of the three birds that were denominated noble, the king was bound to assist him in dismounting and remounting, and to hold his horse while he took the game. But, if he killed it in the absence of the king, he was required to hasten to the palace, and present the game to his majesty; and, by the etiquette of the court, the king rose up in a compliment to him, or else gave him the mantle which he wore.

The vitrification of sand by the force of fire, which forms one of the most pleasing discoveries in the whole circle of domestic improvements, was at first merely the consequence of chance. Such have been almost all the great discoveries of man. Sand being vitrified by an accidental fire, art imitated the work of casualty. Annulets of this metal have been discovered in various parts of our island, having a narrow perforation and thick rim; and the existing superstitions concerning them shew, that they were once used as talismans among the Druids. In the barrows on Salisbury plain, which are probably older than the invasion of the Romans,

many beads of glass have been discovered. As the Britons had the art of forming beads and rings of glass, they certainly applied it to domestic purposes, and manufactured glass-vessels. These, like their annulets, were green, blue, yellow, or black, and many of them curiously streaked with other colours. The following was the process of the manufacture. The sand, being reduced to a sufficient fineness, was mingled with three-fourths of their nitre, which was a fixed salt, and both were melted together. The metal, being then poured into other vessels, was left to harden into a mass, and afterwards replaced in the furnace. It there became clear and transparent in the boiling, and was then figured by blowing, or modeled by the *lathe* into all such vessels as were wanted. X X

The British bill of fare was greatly enlarged by the Romans. The decline of the druidical religion removed the restraints which the prejudices of national faith imposed upon their palates; and geese, hares, and hens, were no more prohibited to be eaten. Nor were the original prohibitions of the Britons confined entirely to these. They extended also to the fish of the sea, and of the rivers. When an object has been employed in the ministry of religion, it has naturally such an odour of sanctity thrown over it, as must prevent it from being used in the common offices of life. Their rivers were exalted into divinities, and they made the turbulent ocean around them an object of adoration. The Highlanders to this day talk with great respect of the genius of the sea. They will not bathe in a fountain, lest the elegant spirit which resides in it should be offended and remove; and they rarely mention the water of rivers without prefixing to it the appellation of *excellent*. In one of the western islands, the inhabitants retained the custom to the close of the last century, of making an annual sacrifice to the genius of the ocean. A quantity of ale having been prepared by a general contribution against All-Saints day, and the whole body of the islanders being assembled on the shore, the occasional priest of the festival walked up to his middle in the sea, bearing a full cup in his hand; invoked the deity by the title of *shony* or *water*; supplicated his kindness towards them; and poured the liquor in libation to the God. The anniversary was then concluded with feasting, dances, and songs. This was, perhaps, the reason why the Britons never fed upon fish. The inventive spirit of religion, which stamped divinity upon the rivers and the ocean, which

offered a sacrifice to the sea, and feared to offend the elegant genius of a fountain by bathing in it, would, in the full height of superstition, naturally consider the scaly inhabitants of the sea and rivers as the little *Naiads* of both, and as sharing a part of their divinity with them.

But the Romans increased the variety of the British provisions, not only by the introduction of forbidden animals to the table, but by the importation of foreign ones into the island. These seem to have been rabbits, pheasants, cuckows, pigeons, partridges, plovers, turtles, and peacocks. The peacock was a dish of considerable repute among the Romans, and was first placed upon the table by Hortensius the orator, about seventy years before Christ, in a supper which he gave to the sacerdotal college. The rabbit was originally a native of Spain, and began to be brought into Italy in the days of Augustus. But hares had always been here; and though they were only used for the purposes of divination, yet they were kept about the courts of the chiefs, from the delight which they took in breeding them. The idea of a hare-warren, and the model of a *park*, were originally derived to us from the primæval Britons. The cuckow just fledged, was reckoned, by the Romans of the first century, to excel every other species of birds in the taste of its flesh. Here it is not considered as a bird for the table, but has been eaten by a few curious adventurers in feasting, and is said to be a delicate treat. The Italians retain the fondness of their ancestors for it to this day.

After the introduction of commerce, the side-tables of the old Britons were decorated with considerable splendour. On them were to be seen drinking cups of various sizes, and in number equal to those who sat at table. One cup was generally of silver, while the rest were made of wood, horn, or earth. Persons of the higher class sat at a table in the centre of the great hall. Their dependents, completely armed, as if on guard, formed a wider circle, and regaled themselves at the same time on long benches very little raised from the ground. When they had finished the substantial meal, the most honourable man at the feast called for a cup of ale, and drank to the next on his right hand; and the same cup, being filled to the brim to each person, went round the whole circle. The guests brought along with them their own knives and forks, which hung from the girdle in the same sheath with the dagger. On some particular occasions, the hospitable chief placed parties of men on the bye-roads of

the country, to bring passengers, by a kind of friendly compulsion, to his table.*

Cock-fighting is a recreation generally supposed to be the production of the British genius. But it was known to many of the ancients, and introduced among us by the Romans. The uncommon bravery which has always distinguished our British breed, would soon induce these conquerors of the world, fond as they were of barbarous diversions, to train them up for the pit, to direct their courage against their brethren, and arm them with artificial spurs. Such exhibitions were less cruel in their nature than their execrable shows of gladiators, and nearly the same, in the scale of humanity, with their baiting of the wolf, the bull, and the bear. And, as more than one of the cities of Britain built a large amphitheatre for the latter, so others of them would naturally erect a small one for the former. One at least seems to have been constructed for it; and that is the little circle of gravel and sand, placed upon an eminence, near Richborough Castle.

The horse was originally an inhabitant of Britain, but the ass was not. The latter bore a considerable price among the Romans and Spaniards; and though its milk was not applied among the Romans to the purposes of medicine, it was early converted to the uses of vanity. In the higher period of their empire, it was supposed by the ladies to contribute much, as a wash, towards whitening their skins. Nero's consort kept a train of five hundred milch asses in constant attendance upon her; and her bath was continually replenished with their milk.

The magic rites, which were practised in our island, at this period, with such a wild solemnity, were merely the mixed effusions of medicine and superstition, each acting upon the other, and both heightening the whole. The three following plants were particularly the favourites of the druids. Samol was thought a remedy for all the diseases in cattle, vervain was a cure for every disorder in man, and the mistle-toe was denominated the *all-healing plant*.

The British females, after the introduction of spinning, were so constantly employed at the distaff, that the spindle became the symbol of the sex; and still in England, when the bans of matrimony are published, those women who

* At the present day, this kind of hospitality would be deemed a proof of vulgarity and want of refinement.

have not been married are called *spinsters*. When a British virgin was marriageable, the lover addressed himself first to the father of the maid, and requested his daughter in marriage. And if he agreed to the overture, he opened "*the hall of the maid*," (the apartment in which she generally sat, retired from the men of the family,) and introduced the suitor to his daughter. The period of courtship, among the British women, appears to have been generally as short as it was in the patriarchal days. A few days concluded the suit. The absolute authority of the father took away all power of refusal from the daughter; and, if she disliked the lover whom he recommended, she had no other resource than the tears of entreaty, or the dangers of flight. The husband was entitled either corporally to chastise his wife, or to require a legal satisfaction from her, for *three crimes*, infidelity to his bed, embezzling his goods, or abusing his beard.

With regard to the ceremonies of sepulture, we shall here mention a very ancient one, which, in some cases, is still retained. Many of the barrows, or repositories of the dead, were covered with heaps of small stones. At the present period, when a wretch dies by the act of suicide in Ireland, and is buried, as in England, at the intersection of two highways, the passengers, for some time after, have a custom of throwing stones upon his grave till they have raised a considerable heap over it. But the original custom is still more perfectly preserved in Scotland. If a person there suddenly falls down dead, or loses his life by any accident on his journey, whether it happens on a road or in a field, stones are immediately heaped upon the spot by the first who discovers it, and the common people contribute to increase the pile, by adding each of them a stone to it. And there are some persons so religiously scrupulous in this respect, that they will turn out of their way for a quarter of a mile, in order to fetch a stone for the purpose; as the neglect, they apprehend, will be punished by some subsequent misfortune to themselves.

The barrows have been generally preserved inviolate in our own times by a feeling, derived from the respect which the religious principles of the Britons bestowed upon them. Of this we have very lively traces remaining among the Highlanders at present. They are firmly persuaded to this moment, that if a dead body shall be known to lie unburied, or to be removed from its sepulchre either by malice or accident, and immediate care be not taken for the interment of

it, storms and tempests will arise to destroy their corn, overturn their cabins, and carry desolation through the country. The construction of the military roads in Scotland, in the last reign, afforded a remarkable proof of this notion. An enormous stone (which crossed the intended line of one of the roads) being removed, a British sepulchre was found below, containing ashes, fragments of bones, and half burned stalks of heath. As soon as it was known to the Highlanders, they assembled in arms even from the remotest parts of the country, and, forming themselves into a body, carefully collected the reliques, marched with them in solemn procession to a new place of burial, and there paid military honours to the deceased by discharging their muskets over his grave.

Many of the northern tribes excluded women from their future paradise, in order, as they expressed it, "to prevent brawls and contentions in the seats of the blessed." But the softer sex, among the Britons and other Celtic nations, passed with their friends to the fortunate isles, and enjoyed the conversation of their husbands and lovers in the regions of bliss. Their beauty increased with their change, and, to use the words of the bard, "They were ruddy lights in the island of joy."

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY, FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE SAXONS, A. D. 449, TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST, A. D. 1066.

MANKIND, in the possession of the present good, are apt to overlook the prospect of future evil. The Britons did not foresee that their deliverers were to be their conquerors. The Saxons, however, after subduing the Scots and Picts, soon pulled off the mask. They complained that their subsidies were ill paid, and insisted upon larger supplies of corn and other provisions. These demands being rejected, they proceeded to open hostilities against the people whom they had engaged to protect. Many battles were fought with various success, in one of which the Saxon general Horsa was slain. The sole command now de-

volved upon Hengist, who ravaged the country with fire and sword, and, in his furious massacres, made no distinction of age, sex, or rank. Of the unhappy Britons who escaped the general slaughter, some took refuge among rugged rocks and mountains; many perished by hunger; and many, forsaking their asylum, preserved their lives at the expense of their liberty. In this extremity, a British and Christian hero appeared. Arthur, prince of the Silures, revived the expiring valour of his countrymen, and defeated the Saxons in several engagements. But, after a long continuance of hostilities, in which the South-Britons were sometimes the enemies and sometimes the allies of the Scots and Picts, the Saxons became masters of the whole territory to the southward of the Clyde and Forth, except A. D. 585. Wales and Cornwall, in which the harassed Britons found refuge.

History affords an example of few conquests more bloody, and few revolutions so violent as that effected by the Saxons. In the course of their wars with the Britons, they established many separate kingdoms, namely, Kent, Sussex, Essex, Wessex, Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumberland. These seven kingdoms formed what is commonly called the Saxon Heptarchy. To relate the separate history of each, would afford little instruction or entertainment. Jealousies and dissensions arose among the Saxon chiefs; and these were followed by perpetual wars, which are no more worthy of the historian's notice than the *combats of crows and kites*. After a variety of inferior revolutions, the seven kingdoms were united under Egbert, king of Wessex, in the year 827. His dominions were nearly of the same extent with what is now properly called *England*;—a name which was given to the empire of the Saxons in Britain, immediately after the termination of the Heptarchy.

Egbert was succeeded by his son Ethelwolf, who divided his power with his son Athelstan. No inconveniences seem to have arisen from this partition; the terror of the Danish invaders preventing all domestic dissensions. Time proved that this terror was too just; for the Danes, though often repulsed, and sometimes defeated, always obtained their immediate end, by committing depredations, and carrying off their booty. They avoided coming to a general engagement, which was not suited to their plan of operations. Their vessels, being small, ran easily up the creeks and rivers. They drew them ashore, and formed an entrench-

ment round them, leaving them under a guard. They scattered themselves over the face of the country in small parties, making spoil of every thing that came in their way; goods, cattle, and women. If opposed by a superior force, they betook themselves to their vessels, set sail, and invaded some distant quarter, not prepared for their reception. All England was kept in continual alarm: nor durst the inhabitants of one part go to the assistance of another, lest their own families and possessions should be in the mean time exposed to the fury of the ravagers. Every season of the year was alike: no man could reckon upon a moment's safety. Encouraged by their past successes, the Danes at length landed in so large a body as seemed to threaten the whole island with subjection. But the Anglo-Saxons, though labouring under the weight of superstition, were still a gallant people. They roused themselves with a vigour proportioned to the necessity, and defeated their invaders in several engagements. The Danes, however, ventured for the first time to take up their winter-quarters in England;

A.D. 852. and receiving in the spring a powerful reinforcement, they advanced from the isle of Thanet, where they had stationed themselves, and committed horrible ravages in London and Canterbury.

Ethelwolf was a weak prince, unfit to reign in turbulent times; but, if he did not give vigour to the state, he elevated and enriched the church, by ordering the payment of a tenth part of the produce of all landed property to the clergy. His sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert, divided the kingdom between them; but at length the latter reigned alone, and was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, who bravely defended his dominions against the Danes.

Another son of Ethelwolf was the celebrated Alfred, one of the greatest princes mentioned in history. He fought seven battles with the Danes with various success, and, when defeated, he found resources that rendered him as terrible as before. He was, however, at one time reduced to a state of uncommon distress, being forced to live in the disguise of a cowherd. Yet he still kept up a secret correspondence with his brave friends, and made frequent sallies upon the Danes, who often felt the vigour of his arm, but knew not whence the blow came, nor by whom it was directed.

The greatest inconvenience under which Alfred laboured, during his retreat, arose from a scarcity of provisions, of which the following anecdote is a proof. It happened one



ALFRED DIVIDING HIS LAST LOAF WITH THE
PILGRIM.

day that he had sent out all his attendants to procure fish and other things necessary for the family. When they were gone, the king took a book and began to read, whilst his queen was employed in her domestic concerns. They had not been long thus engaged, before a *poor pilgrim* knocked at the door, and begged that they would give him something to eat. The humane king called to Egelswitha, and requested her to give the poor man a part of what was in the house. The queen, finding only one loaf, brought it to Alfred, to shew how slender their store was. Not deterred, however, by the scanty view, from his charitable purposes, he cheerfully gave the indigent Christian one half of the loaf, consoling the queen with this religious reflection, "that he who could feed five thousand persons with five loaves and two fishes," could make (if it so pleased Him) the remaining half of the loaf suffice for more than their necessities. The king then resumed his studies, and felt that satisfaction which results from the performance of a beneficent action. Nor was his piety long unrewarded; for his companions returned with so great a quantity of provisions, that Alfred and his friends were not again exposed to any similar inconvenience during their seclusion.

At length, a prosperous event emboldened the royal fugitive to leave his retreat, and enter on a scene of action more worthy of himself. Oddune, earl of Devonshire, being besieged in his castle, made an unexpected sally upon the Danes, put them to the rout, pursued them with great slaughter, and gained possession of the famous *Raven*, an enchanted standard, in which they reposed the highest confidence. The account of this victory was immediately carried by the faithful earl to Alfred, who was happy to find the seeds of valour beginning to revive among his subjects. But before he would assemble them in arms, he resolved to inspect the situation of the enemy, and judge of the probability of success, as an unfortunate attempt, in the present state of national despondency, must have terminated in final ruin. In consequence of this resolution, he entered the Danish camp under the disguise of a harper, and passed unsuspected through every quarter. He observed the supine security of the ravagers, their contempt of the English, and their neglect of all military regulations. Encouraged by these propitious appearances, he sent secret intelligence to his most powerful subjects, and summoned them to assemble,



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along with their retainers, on the borders of Selwood Forest. The English, who, instead of finding a period to their calamities in submission, as they had fondly hoped, had found the insolence and rapine of the conquerors more intolerable than the fatigues of war, joyfully resorted to the place of rendezvous. They saluted their beloved monarch with bursts of applause. They could not satiate their eyes with the sight of a prince, whom they had believed dead, and who now appeared as their deliverer. They begged to be led to *liberty* and vengeance.

Alfred did not suffer their ardour to cool. He conducted them instantly to Edington, where the Danes lay encamped; and, taking advantage of his previous knowledge of the enemy's situation, he directed his attack against the most unguarded quarter. Surprised to see an army of Englishmen, whom they considered as totally subdued, and still more to find Alfred at their head, the Danes made a feeble resistance, notwithstanding their superior number. They were soon put to flight, and routed with great slaughter. Alfred, no less generous than brave, and who knew as well how to govern as to conquer, took the remainder of the Danish army, and their prince Guthrum, under his protection. He granted them their lives on submission, and liberty to settle in the kingdoms of Northumberland and East Anglia, which were desolated by the frequent inroads of their countrymen, on condition that they should embrace Christianity. They consented, and were baptized. This mode of population fully answered Alfred's expectations; for the greater part of the Danes settled peaceably in their new possessions.

This great prince, during the last three years of his reign, enjoyed a profound peace, which he employed in establishing civil and military institutions, in composing the minds of men to industry and justice, and in providing against the return of the former calamities. After re-building the ruined cities, particularly London, he divided the kingdom into counties, hundreds, and tithings, and established a regular militia for its defence.

But Alfred did not trust solely to his land-force; for he also distinguished his reign by the formation of a maritime power, and may be considered as the creator of the English navy. Sensible that ships are the most natural bulwark of an island, a circumstance hitherto entirely overlooked by

the Saxons, or *English*,* (as they began now to be generally called,) he met the Danes on their own element. A fleet of 120 armed vessels, provided with warlike engines and expert seamen, maintained a superiority over the enemy, and gave birth to that claim, which England still supports, to the sovereignty of the ocean.

In order to guide the magistrates in the administration of justice, he framed a body of laws, which are still in force under the name of *Common Law*. He established a mode of trial by jury, the best security of our liberties, both personal and political. So vigilant was he against any violation of this bulwark of our constitution, that he *hanged Cadwaine*, one of his *judges*, for sentencing a man to death without the consent of the twelve jurors. His vigour pervaded every department of the state; and the police of his kingdom was so good, that golden bracelets were hung up near the highways, and no one dared to touch them. He died in 901, in the fifty-third year of his age. His character is so completely amiable and heroic, that he is justly dignified with the epithet of *Great*. His civil and military qualifications equally claim our admiration. In him the virtues were so well tempered, and so justly blended, that no one of them exceeded its proper limits. He possessed the most enterprising spirit with the coolest prudence, and the most rigid justice with the gentlest mercy. With the highest capacity, and the most ardent inclination for study and science, he united the most shining talents for action. He knew how to reconcile the vigour of authority with the arts that conciliate love, and to give the sovereign command the air of a friendly request.

He was succeeded by his son, Edward the Elder, under whom, though a brave prince, the Danes renewed their invasions. His successor, Athelstan, in order to encourage commerce, enacted, that every merchant who made three voyages to the Mediterranean, should be put upon a footing with a *thane*, or nobleman of the first rank. He caused the Scriptures to be translated into the Saxon tongue. He was successful in his wars with the Scots, and died in 941.

The reigns of his successors, Edmund, Edred, and Edwy, were weak and inglorious. Edgar, who mounted the throne in the year 959, revived the naval glory of England,

* This name arose from the *Angles*, the most numerous of the emigrant Germanic tribes.

and is said to have been rowed down the river Dee by eight kings, his vassals, whilst he himself sat at the helm: but, like many of his predecessors, he was the slave of priests, particularly of St. Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, who directed both the spiritual affairs of the king, and the temporal concerns of the kingdom. Nothing, either in church or state, was transacted, without his advice and concurrence. He was sole treasurer, and, by his counsel, most of the benefices in the kingdom were bestowed upon monks, while the secular clergy were totally neglected. The monarch's partiality rendered Dunstan too powerful for a subject.—His zeal was as furious as his power was great, and his understanding as shallow as his ambition was boundless. The monks, however, whom he had so much obliged, took every opportunity of sounding his praise, and even represented him as a prophet and apostle.

The circumstances of Edgar's marriage with Elfrida, daughter of Ordgar, earl of Devonshire, were at once singular and criminal. The fame of this lady's beauty having reached the king's ears, he sent his favourite, Athelwold, to take a survey of her charms. Finding that they surpassed report, the enamoured courtier sacrificed his fidelity to his passion, and assured the king, that Elfrida's fortune and quality alone procured her the admiration of the world, and that her charms, far from being extraordinary, would have been entirely overlooked in a woman of inferior condition. "But," added he, "though she has nothing to claim the attention of a sovereign, her immense wealth would, to a subject, be a sufficient compensation for the homeliness of her person, and, though it could never produce on me the illusion of beauty, it might make her a convenient wife!" Edgar, ready to promote his favourite's interest, not only approved his purpose, but forwarded his success by his recommendation to the parents of Elfrida; and Athelwold was soon made happy in the possession of his mistress.

Royal favourites are never without enemies. Edgar was soon informed of the truth; but, before he would execute vengeance on Athelwold's treachery, he resolved to satisfy himself of the extent of his guilt. He accordingly told him, that he intended to pay him a visit at his castle, and be introduced to his new-married wife. Athelwold was thunder-struck at the proposal; but, as he could not refuse the honour, he only begged leave to go before the king a few hours, to prepare for his reception. On his arrival, he informed

Elfrida of his deceit and danger, and entreated her to conceal from Edgar, by all possible means, that fatal beauty which had seduced him from his fidelity to his sovereign and friend. Elfrida promised compliance, though nothing appears to have been farther from her thoughts. She took care to appear before the king with all the advantages, which the richest attire, and most engaging airs, could bestow. This had the desired effect. She instantly excited, in the bosom of the amorous Edgar, the highest love towards herself, and the most furious desire of revenge against her husband. He, however, dissembled those passions, till, having seduced Athelwold into a wood, on pretence of hunting, he stabbed him with his own hand; and soon after he espoused Elfrida.

One of the remarkable incidents of this reign was the extirpation of wolves in England, which the king effected by changing the tribute-money, usually paid by the Welsh princes, into an annual tribute of three hundred heads of wolves.

Edgar was succeeded, in 975, by his eldest son Edward, afterwards barbarously murdered by his step-mother, whose son Ethelred ascended the throne in 979. The nation was at that time severely harassed by the Danes. In the hope of checking their ravages and encroachments, the king, with the concurrence of a national council, agreed to pay 24,000 pounds to the fierce invaders. This money was called *Dane-geld*; and hence arose the first land-tax in England. The imprudent grant was soon followed by a measure of an opposite nature. Ethelred gave orders for a general massacre of the Danes who had settled in his dominions: but this inhuman act served only to enrage the Danish king Swein, who, in 1013, obliged Ethelred, his queen, and two sons, to flee into Normandy; a province of France, at that time governed by its own princes.

Swein, dying suddenly, was succeeded by his son Canute the Great. But Ethelred, returning to England, forced Canute to retire to Denmark; whence, however, he invaded England with a great army, and obliged Edmund Ironside, (so called from his uncommon bodily strength,) to divide with him the kingdom. Edmund being assassinated, Canute succeeded to the whole, which he enjoyed for many years in great tranquillity, and died in the year 1035.

With Canute fell the glory of the Danes in England; and at his death the torch of discord, which had lighted up so

many woes to this country, began to burn with a more baleful lustre. Canute, though nursed in blood, and surrounded with scenes of injustice and barbarity, passed to the grave with the character of the mildest virtues. He acquired the surname of Great from his conquest; but he merited that epithet much better from the virtues which he displayed during the pacific period of his administration. He was ever attentive to the interest of his people, and displeased with the adulation of his courtiers.

He had the good sense to check their flattery in the following singular manner. Whilst some of them were exclaiming one day, that every thing was possible to him, being then near Southampton, he ordered his chair to be set near the sea, when the tide was rising, and, as the waves approached, he commanded them to retire, and to obey the voice of him who was the lord of the ocean. He feigned to sit some time in expectation of their submission; but, when the sea began to wash him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers, and remarked to them, that *omnipotence* resided with that Being alone, in whose hands were all the elements of nature.

His son Harold Harefoot performed nothing memorable; and his successor Hardicanute was so degenerate a prince, that the Danish royalty in England ended with him. The family of Ethelred being now called to the throne, Edward the *Confessor* succeeded; though Edgar Atheling, a weak youth, descended from an elder branch, had the lineal right. Edward was a great benefactor to the church, and excessively attached to the Normans, among whom he had resided. He was governed by his minister, earl Godwin, and that nobleman's sons, of whom the eldest was Harold. It is said that he bequeathed the crown to William, duke of Normandy. Upon the death of the Confessor, however, earl Harold mounted the throne.

William, who, though his birth was illegitimate, had succeeded his father Robert in the Norman duchy, resolved to assert his pretensions to the English crown. He invited the neighbouring princes to join his subjects in the bold attempt, and made liberal promises to his followers, of lands and honours in England, to induce them to give him more effectual assistance. He thus collected 50,000 brave adventurers; and, while Harold was embarrassed with an invasion from Norway, the ambitious duke landed without opposition. Harold, returning from the North, encountered William in Sussex, near the place where the town of Hastings now stands,



CANUTE REBUKING THE FLATTERY OF HIS COURTIER.

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and a most sanguinary battle was fought between the two armies. Harold being killed, and his army routed with great slaughter, the crown of England devolved upon William, in the year 1066.

Thus was the Anglo-Saxon government dissolved, after it had continued above six hundred years from Hengist, the first king of Kent.

CHAP. II.

RELIGION OF THE SAXONS BEFORE THEIR CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY.

MEN not favoured with revelation, give their own passions and prejudices to the divinities whom they adore. Brought up in battle, and habituated to blood, the Saxons made their gods as fierce and intractable as themselves. The character given of Odin differs in no respect from the pictures we have of those bold and intrepid warriors, who led their predatory armies into the regions of the south. The supreme gods of other nations are represented as favourable to the existence of the human species. The chief title of Odin was the *Father of the Slain*. The events of his life, except the means of leaving it with renown and through violence, commanded little of the attention of his worshipers. His dominion, therefore, in some measure, may be said to begin in the hour of death.

The mode of worship, among the Saxons and their Scandinavian ancestors, was as simple as their ideas of a divinity were unrefined. A great log of unfashioned wood, perpendicularly raised in the open air, was the common representative of Odin. This symbol they distinguished by the name of *Irmunsel*, a word which, in their language, signified the universal pillar that sustains the world.

Thor, from which Thursday, the fifth day of the week, is derived, was only the title of Thunderer, annexed by all nations to the Supreme Divinity. Odin was worshiped under that name as presiding over the regions of the air, as the ruler of tempests, the director of thunder, the lord of the weather, and protector and nourisher of the fruits of the earth.

Contrary to the practice of the Celtic nations, the Saxons, Danes, and other northern tribes, admitted a female divinity into the catalogue of their gods. As Odin was believed to

be the father, *Frea* was esteemed the mother of all the deities. Odin was the irresistible principle which gives motion to every thing that breathes; and *Frea* furnished that portion of matter which is infused into living creatures by the active and pervading spirit distinguished by the name of God.

In the most ancient times, *Frea* was the same with the goddess *Hertha*, or the Earth. Her worship filled the minds of her devotees with sentiments very different from those which the bloody altars of Odin inspired. During the feast held in honour of *Hertha* among the Angli, and their neighbours on the Baltic, an universal joy was spread over the country. Benevolence and hospitality prevailed in every quarter. War and discord ceased; and it was then only that peace and quiet were either known or loved. The universal parent of mankind did not, they justly thought, delight in the destruction of her race; and, therefore, every instrument of death was shut up during her supposed residence in the land. When she retired to her sacred groves, her warlike worshippers, whose bent to humanity was only temporary, recoiled with violence into their favourite occupation of slaughter and war.

To *Frea*, the sixth day of the week was consecrated, which still bears her name.

The Saxon and Danish priests believed and taught the immortality of the human soul, and a state of rewards and punishments after death. The place of rewards they called *Valhalla*, where the heroes spent the day in martial sports, and the night in feasting on the flesh of the boar, and drinking large draughts of beer or mead out of the skulls of their enemies whom they had slain in battle, presented to them by beautiful young virgins, who waited upon them at table. The place of punishment they called *Niflheim*, or *The Abode of Evil*, where *Hela* dwelt, whose palace was *Anguish*, whose table was *Famine*, and bed *Leanness*. In the former of those places, all brave and good men, and in the latter, all cowards and bad men, were to reside to the end of this world, when the heavens and the earth, and even the gods themselves, were to be consumed by fire. After this general conflagration, a new and more glorious world was to arise out of the ashes of the former; the heroes, with all good and just men, were to be admitted into a palace built of shining gold; and cowards, assassins, false swearers, and adulterers, were to be confined in a place built of the carcasses of serpents.

The descriptions given of the dominions and persons of *Hela* are full of fancy. "On the shores of the dead bodies, remote from the sun," says the Edda, "there is a spacious and dismal hall, with its gates wide open to the northern winds. The walls are wattled with snakes, whose heads look inward, and vomit poison. Rivers of this poison rush through the hall, which the unhappy are forced to ford. But in the worst condition are those who are precipitated into the inmost regions. They are tormented by the evil demon, who dwells in extreme darkness." *Hela*, who presides over these baleful regions, is herself a figure expressive of suitable horrors. One half of her frame is blue, the other bears the colour of the human skin. Her aspect is fierce and terrible; her temper unrelenting and cruel.

The terror which *Hela* and her dominions impressed on the minds of the Anglo-Saxons and their ancestors in Scandinavia, was perhaps as great an inducement to valour as were the joys of *Valhalla*, or heaven. Men however chose, for the sake of their reputation, to derive their contempt of life from the latter. To die with exultation and joy under the torture or arms of an enemy, was as peculiar to the northern nations, as it was necessary to their renown. "The goddesses invite me," says *Lodbrog*, "the Valkyrian goddesses, whom Odin has sent from his hall. The hours of my life are passing away; with a smile I give up my soul."

The minds of the Saxons were much engaged in the prediction of future events, and their *divination* was very simple. It consisted of slips of wood cut from a fruit-bearing tree, and distinguished by different marks or notches. These were jumbled together in a white cloth. Then a priest, if it was a public ceremony, or, if a private augury, the father of a family, implored the assistance of the gods, and lifting up his eyes towards heaven, took up a slip three times, and prognosticated either good or evil, according to the number of marks on the piece he happened to take in his hand. Future events were likewise prognosticated among the Saxons, by the singing and flight of birds, and from the neighing of horses, especially those of a *white colour*, which they considered as the ministers of the gods, and fed in woods and groves at the public expense. But their surest presages, with regard to the events of war, were drawn from the issue of a single combat, fought between one of their own champions, and a *captive* of the people against whom they had commenced hostilities.

Though in very ancient times the Saxons had no covered temples, they at last erected some of incredible grandeur and magnificence. The sacred fire was never extinguished, and near it stood a vase for receiving the blood of the victims, and a brush for sprinkling it upon the spectators. Certain great festivals were kept with peculiar solemnity. That which was celebrated at the winter solstice was called *Yule*, a name by which our festival of Christmas is still known in many parts of Scotland, and in some parts of England.

An opinion that souls could be annihilated, was never admitted into the mythology of the heathen Saxons. To be reduced to its first principles, was what they called the *dissolution of the universe*. It is thus described in their prophetic writings. "The sun shall grow dark above; the earth shall sink under the ocean. The bright stars shall fall from heaven. Fire shall rage through the ancient fabric of the world; and the flames ascending, shall touch the very skies. But the souls of men will escape the ruin which shall overwhelm the universe. They will convene on the plains of Ida, where the virtuous will be indulged with perfect happiness and joy."

The northern nations seem not to have been much prejudiced in favour of their native climate. The seats of the unhappy are placed under the pole, and open to its winds, whilst the habitations of the blessed are near the sun. Cramped with the cold of the north, they looked for joy in the tepid regions of the south; and the posterity of the Scandinavians shewed, by their successive migrations, that they wished to anticipate on earth the pleasing warmth of their celestial habitations.

CHAP. III.

GENERAL STATE OF RELIGION AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS, AFTER THEY BECAME CHRISTIANS.

THE Anglo-Saxons were converted to Christianity by the preaching of Augustine, a Roman monk, and the zeal of Bertha, daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, and wife to Ethelbert, king of Kent.

St. Gregory, (who was advanced to the papal chair in the year 590,) prompted by his zeal for religion, and having his compassion moved by the sight of some beautiful English youths exposed to sale in the streets of Rome, resolved to

attempt the conversion of their countrymen. With this view he sent Augustine and forty other monks to England. He furnished them with letters of recommendation to the king, queen, and several bishops of France, who received them kindly, and provided them with every thing that could give facility to their sacred mission, particularly with interpreters. Thus encouraged, these missionaries sailed from France, and landed in the isle of Thanet, A.D. 596. whence they immediately dispatched one of their interpreters to acquaint king Ethelbert with the design of their coming. That prince soon after gave them an audience in the open air, assigned them a place of residence in the city of Canterbury, and allowed them to use their best endeavours to convert his subjects. Having thus obtained the royal license, they immediately entered on their holy labours, which were crowned with such success, that in a very short time the king and a great number of his subjects were converted. Augustine baptized no fewer than ten thousand on Christmas-day, and was soon after consecrated archbishop of Canterbury.

But, as the Anglo-Saxons received the Christian doctrine through the polluted channels of the church of Rome, though the circumstance of their conversion opened an intercourse with the more polished states of Europe, it had not much influence either in purifying their minds, or in softening their manners. The grossest ignorance and superstition prevailed among them. Reverence for saints and reliques seemed to have supplanted the worship of the Supreme Being; donations to the church atoned for every violation of the laws of society; and monastic observances were more esteemed than moral virtues. Even the military virtues, so habitual and so dear to the Saxons, began to fall into neglect. Many of the nobles preferred the indolence and security of the cloister to the toils and tumults of war; while the crown, impoverished by continual benefactions to the church, had no longer any rewards left for the encouragement of valour.

This corrupt species of Christianity was attended with another train of inconveniences, proceeding from a superstitious attachment to the see of Rome. The Britons had conducted all ecclesiastical matters by their own synods and councils, acknowledging no subordination to the Roman pontiff. But the Saxons, having received their religion through the medium of Italian monks, were taught to consider Rome as the capital

of their faith. Pilgrimages to that city were accordingly represented as the most meritorious acts of devotion; and not only noblemen and ladies of rank undertook this tedious journey, but kings themselves, resigning their crowns, implored a safe passport to heaven at the foot of St. Peter's chair, and exchanged the purple for the sackcloth.

During the eleventh century, the pope and Roman clergy carried on a lucrative traffic in reliques, of which they possessed inexhaustible stores. Kings, princes, and wealthy prelates, purchased pieces of the cross, or whole legs and arms of the apostles. An English archbishop, who was at Rome in 1021, purchased from the pope an arm of a saint for one hundred talents of silver, and one talent of gold. This may enable us to form some idea of the knavery of the sellers, and the astonishing superstition of the purchasers of those commodities.

In consequence of the introduction of celibacy into the monasteries, the clergy augmented their power, in the tenth century, by detaching their brethren from secular affairs and carnal pursuits, and rendering them more independent of the civil magistrates. The chief promoter of this innovation was archbishop Dunstan, whose zeal, being supported by all the power of the crown, triumphed over every obstacle.

The building, endowing, and adorning of monasteries, were carried on with such mad profusion for more than a century, that a great part of the wealth of England was expended on these structures, or lay buried in their ornaments and utensils. "The masses of gold and silver," says a respectable historian, "which queen Emma, with a holy prodigality, bestowed upon the monasteries of Winchester, astonished the minds of strangers, while the splendour of the precious stones dazzled their eyes." Let us be thankful to Divine Providence that we live in a more enlightened age, and let our improvement in knowledge and virtue bear some proportion to the advantages with which we are favoured.

CHAP. IV.

GOVERNMENT AND LAWS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

THE Saxon annals are too imperfect to enable us to delineate exactly the prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of the people, after the settlement of the Saxons in Britain. The government might be somewhat different in the

different kingdoms of the heptarchy, and might also undergo several changes before the Norman conquest; but of those changes we are in a great measure ignorant. We only know, that, at all times, and in all the kingdoms, there was a national council, a *Wittenagemot*, or assembly of wise men, whose consent was necessary to the enacting of laws, and to sanction the measures of public administration. The constituent members of this assembly were the nobility, the dignified clergy, and all freeholders possessing a certain portion of land.

The Anglo-Saxons were divided into three orders of men, the noble, the free, and the servile. The nobles, who were called Thanes, were a very numerous body of men, comprehending all the considerable landholders in England. They were the genuine descendants and representatives of the ancient German companions of their princes. In times of war, they constituted the flower of the armies, and in times of peace they swelled the trains of their kings, and added greatly to the splendour of their courts.

The freemen were denominated *ceorls*, and were chiefly employed in husbandry; whence a husbandman and *ceorl* came to be synonymous terms. If any one of them prospered so well as to acquire the property of five hides of land, upon which he had a church, a kitchen, a bell-house, and a great gate, and obtained a seal and office in the king's court, he was esteemed a nobleman or thane. If a *ceorl* applied to learning, and attained to priest's orders, he was also considered as a thane. Success in trade or in war raised him to the same rank. Thus the temple of honour stood open to these *ceorls*, whether they applied themselves to agriculture, commerce, letters, or arms, which were then the only professions esteemed worthy of a freeman.

Slavery continued in England as long as the Saxons were heathens, and for some time after their conversion to Christianity. Slaves were the most numerous class in the community; and, being the property of their masters, were consequently incapable of holding any property themselves. They were of two kinds, namely, household slaves, after the manner of the ancients, and rustic slaves, who were sold and transferred like cattle with the soil. These last were called *villani*, or *villains*, because they dwelt in the villages belonging to their masters, and performed the servile labour of cultivating their lands. The bishops had authority to regulate the quantity of work to be done by slaves, and to take care

that no man should treat his slave harshly, but as a fellow-christian. The clergy also procured a law to be enacted, ordaining that all the English slaves of every bishop should be set at liberty at his death. But, notwithstanding this, the greatest part of the common people groaned under the yoke of servitude, during the period of the Saxon government in this country.

The higher nobility and dignified clergy among the Anglo-Saxons, possessed a criminal jurisdiction within their own territories, and could inflict the punishment even of death, without appeal. This was a dangerous privilege, and liable to the greatest abuse. But, although the Anglo-Saxon government seems at last to have become in some measure aristocratical, there were still considerable remains of the ancient democracy. All the freeholders assembled twice a year in the county-courts, to receive appeals from the inferior courts;—a practice well calculated for the preservation of general liberty, and for restraining the exorbitant power of the nobles.

The criminal laws of the Anglo-Saxons, as of most barbarous nations, were uncommonly mild. A compensation in money was sufficient for murder of any species, and for the life of persons of any rank, not excepting the king and the archbishop, whose head, by the laws of Kent, was estimated higher than that of the king. Fines were also ordained for all kinds of wounds. The price of a limb was not the same in all parts of England. The value of it in one county might be three pounds, in another only forty shillings.

But if the punishments for crimes among the Anglo-Saxons were singular, their proofs were no less so. When any controversy about a fact was too intricate for the ignorant judges to unravel, they had recourse to what they called the judgement of God, or, in other words, to chance. Their modes of consulting that blind divinity were various; but the most common was the ordeal. This method of trial was practised either by boiling-water or red-hot iron. When the water or iron had been consecrated by prayers, masses, fastings, and exorcisms, the accused person either took up, with his naked hand, a stone sunk in the water to a certain depth, or carried the iron to a certain distance. The hand was immediately wrapped up, and the covering sealed for three days, and if, on examining it, there appeared no marks of burning or scalding, the person accused was pronounced innocent; if otherwise, he was declared guilty.

Another way of performing the ordeal of hot iron was, by requiring the person, who was to be tried, to walk blind-fold, with his feet bare, over nine hot plough-shares, placed at certain distances. If he did this without being burned, he was acquitted.

These fiery ordeals, however, were nothing but gross impositions on the credulity of mankind. Three days before the trial, the accused person was committed wholly to the custody of the priest who was to perform the ceremony, and therefore he had time enough to stipulate for his deliverance, and to receive instructions how to act his part. No person was permitted to enter the church, but the priest and the accused, till the iron was heated, when twelve friends of the accuser, and twelve of the accused, were admitted, and ranged along the wall on each side of the church, at a respectful distance. After the iron was taken out of the fire, several prayers were said, and the accused drank a cup of holy water, and sprinkled himself with it; which might take a considerable time, if the priest was indulgent. The clergy, likewise, were in possession of some secret, which they made use of, when they saw reason, to prevent any disagreeable effects. No champion of the church ever sustained the least injury from the touch of hot iron in this ordeal; but when any one was so fool-hardy as to appeal to it, or to that of hot water, with a view to deprive the church of any of her possessions, he never failed to endure all the natural effect of the ordeal, and to lose his cause.

In all the states established by the Anglo-Saxons in this island, the chief magistrate was called the *cynning* or *king*; a title of the most honourable import in their language, as including the ideas of wisdom, power, and valour, the most necessary qualifications of a sovereign, both in peace and war. Though hereditary succession generally took place, yet the next heir was sometimes superseded by a more distant relative of the royal line, who was judged more capable of reigning. The Anglo-Saxon monarchs were not absolute. The laws and customs of their country limited their power and prerogatives. To administer justice, and command the army in time of war, were the two chief duties of the regal office; and he who could not discharge both these, was considered by our ancestors as unqualified to reign.

The highest officer, in the courts of the Anglo-Saxon kings, was the mayor of the palace, always a prince of the royal family. The priest of the household was the next in dignity,

who sat at the royal table, to bless the meat, and to chant the Lord's prayer. The third in rank was the steward, who had a variety of perquisites, of which the following were the most remarkable. "As much of every cask of plain ale shall belong to the steward of the household, as he can reach with his middle finger dipped into it, and as much of every cask of ale with spiceries as he can reach with the second joint of his middle finger, and as much of every cask of mead as he can reach with the first joint of the same finger." There was also a judge of the household, who settled all disputes that arose among the servants of the royal family. A learned education and a *long beard* were indispensable qualifications of this great officer. The silentiary was an officer, whose duty it was to command silence in the hall, when the king sat down to table. He then took his stand near one of the pillars; and, when any improper noise arose, he immediately quashed it by striking the pillar with his rod. But the most remarkable of all was the king's feet-bearer. This was a young gentleman, whose duty it was to sit on the floor, with his back towards the fire, and hold the king's feet in his bosom while he sat at table, to keep them warm and comfortable; a piece of state and luxury unknown in modern times.

CHAP. V.

STATE OF LEARNING AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

UPON the subversion of the western empire in the fifth century of the Christian æra, its rude and untutored conquerors, hurrying over the most fertile parts of Europe, ignorant of letters, and altogether addicted to the love and exercise of arms, quite neglected Roman literature and elegance. The Arabians too, above a century after this event, headed by the deceitful and enthusiastic Mohammed, rushed from their savage deserts to enforce the precepts of his religion, and, under his immediate successors, rashly dared to consume the valuable library of Alexandria, the rich deposit of whatever the best and wisest of the ancient world had been amassing for ages.

Among the Christian clergy, with whom literature ought to have been cherished, the most excessive ignorance was to be found; and it is not uncommon to discover, in the deeds of a synod, a sentence like the following: "As my lord

bishop cannot write himself, at his request I have subscribed." Even Charlemagne, that far-famed monarch, the theme of minstrels, and the hero of romance, was unable to write his own name, and forty-five years of his life had elapsed before he attempted any progress in literature.

When the Romans invaded Britain, they instructed and improved those whom they had subdued. The Saxons, being a fierce illiterate people, acted a very different part, and their destructive progress was marked with darkness and desolation. All the libraries left by the Romans, in this island, were destroyed by the ravages of war. In the year 890, king Alfred gave an estate of eight hides of land, for a single volume on cosmography. "At my accession to the throne," says this incomparable man, "all knowledge and learning were extinguished in the English nation; insomuch that there were very few to the south of the Humber who understood the common prayers of the church, or were capable of translating a single sentence of Latin into English; but, to the south of the Thames, I cannot recollect so much as one who could do this."

In those dark ages, however, there were some men, who prevented the total extinction of literature in this island. *Gildas* the historian was one of these, and is the only British author of the sixth century whose works are published. He was so much admired by his countrymen, that he obtained the appellation of *Gildas the Wise*, though his works do not seem to entitle him to that distinction. His history of Britain is only valuable for its antiquity, and from our total want of better information. *Columbanus*, a native of Scotland, was a learned monk and writer, contemporary with *Gildas*. He was educated in the famous monastery of Iona, and afterwards founded the abbey of Luxeuille in France, which he governed above twenty years with great reputation. He composed a system of laws, which were so severe, that, if a monk smiled in the time of divine service, he was to receive fifty lashes with a whip.

Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne, was the first Englishman who wrote Latin in prose and verse. His style is elegant, and his compositions shew him to have been well acquainted with philosophical and religious subjects. Alfred the Great declared that *Aldhelm* was the best of all the Saxon poets, and that a favourite song, which was universally sung in his time, near two centuries after its author's death, was of his composition. When he was abbot of Malmesbury, having

a fine voice, and great skill in music as well as poetry, and observing the backwardness of his barbarous countrymen to listen to grave instructions, he composed a number of little poems, which he sang to them after mass, in so sweet a manner, that they were gradually instructed and civilized. This learned prelate died in 709.

Beda, or *Bede*, surnamed the Venerable, was the great luminary of England, and of the Christian world, in the eighth century. He was born at Weremouth in Northumberland, in 672, and died in 735. He spent his life in the monastery of Jarrow, near the mouth of the Tyne. But though his life was humble and obscure, his fame spread over all Europe; and even the pope solicited his advice in the government of the church. He exercised his pen on a great variety of subjects. His ecclesiastical history of England commences at the invasion of Julius Cæsar, and ends in 723. "The death of Bede," says William of Malmesbury, "was fatal to learning, and particularly to history; inso-much that it may be said that almost all knowledge of past events was buried in the same grave with him, and hath continued in that condition even to our times."

Alcuin, abbot of Canterbury, was an eminent philosopher, orator, and divine. Being sent on an embassy by Offa, king of Mercia, to the court of Charlemagne, he was induced to settle in France, and to become preceptor to that great prince. Some of his letters to his patron breathe an excellent spirit. "By wisdom," says he, *kings reign, and princes decree justice*. Cease not then, O most gracious king, to press the young nobility of your court to the eager pursuit of wisdom and learning in their youth, that they may attain to an honourable old age, and blessed immortality. For my own part, I sow the seeds of learning in the minds of your subjects in these parts, mindful of the saying of the wisest man: *In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand; for thou knowest not whether shall prosper either this or that*. To do this hath been the most delightful employment of my whole life. In my youthful years, I sowed the seeds of knowledge in the flourishing seminaries of my native soil, and in my old age I am doing the same in France, praying to God, that they may spring up and flourish in both countries." He composed many treatises on various subjects, in an elegant and pure style. He retired from Charlemagne's court to St. Martin's Abbey, at Tours, where he died in the year 804.

The most learned man in Europe, about the middle of the ninth century, was a native of the town of Air, in North-Britain. *Johannes Scotus Erigena*, seeing his own country involved in darkness and confusion, undertook a journey into Greece, where he acquired the knowledge of the Greek language and philosophy, which were very rare accomplishments in those times. His principal work is his book "concerning the nature of things," the most curious literary production of that age, being written with a metaphysical acuteness which none of his contemporaries possessed.

The reign of Alfred is a memorable period in the annals of literature, with the love of which the following circumstance first inspired him. He was not taught to know one letter from another till he was twelve years of age, when a book was put into his hand by accident rather than design. The queen, his mother, being one day in company with her five sons, of whom Alfred was the youngest, and having a book of Saxon poems in her hand, beautifully written and adorned, observed that the royal youths were charmed with the beauty of the book; upon which she said, "I will make a present of this book to him who shall learn to read it soonest." Alfred immediately applied to the task with such ardour, that, in a short time, he both read and repeated the poems to the queen, and received the book for his reward. From that moment he was seized with an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and reading and study became his chief delight.

This prince was not only an universal scholar, but a great encourager of learned men; and, what is much to his praise, he employed his taste for knowledge to promote the happiness of his subjects. He founded schools on a very extensive plan; and though Oxford had been a seat of learning in more ancient times, yet that university appears to have been so entirely ruined in the beginning of his reign, that he may justly be styled the father and founder of it; a circumstance equally honourable to his memory, and to one of the most famous universities in the world. Learning revived under Alfred's auspicious reign, which clearly evinces that a prince, animated with a desire of diffusing knowledge and happiness among his subjects, can produce the most beneficial change in the spirit of a nation.

After the death of this great man, the torch of science, which he had taken so much pains to relume, was totally extinguished, and the demon of ignorance and superstition

spread her dreadful pall over the barbarous sons of prostrate Europe. He and a few others, whom history has delighted to hold up to our admiration, and whom it has embalmed with grateful praise, were but as meteors that flash on the surrounding gloom, are gazed at for a moment with stupid wonder, and are then lost in the darkness of returning night. "The succeeding age," says a learned writer, "for its barbarism and wickedness, may be called the age of iron; for its dullness and stupidity, the age of lead; and, for its blindness and ignorance, the age of darkness."

CHAP. VI.

OF THE ARTS AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

FEW improvements in the arts were made by the Saxons in England, after the first invasion of the Danes. These barbarians seem to have carried off with them almost all the bullion and ready money of the Anglo-Saxons; for Alfred the Great left no more to his two daughters, for their portion, than 100*l.* each. Harold, however, many years after, in his last victory over them, recovered as much treasure as twelve stout men could carry.

The Anglo-Saxon husbandmen had a very imperfect knowledge of agriculture. They ploughed, sowed, and harrowed, their lands; but, as all these operations were performed by wretched slaves, who had little or no interest in their success, we may be sure that they were executed in a superficial manner. Their ploughs were very slight, and had only one handle. They were unacquainted with water-mills for some time after their settlement in this country, and had no better way of converting their corn into meal, than by grinding it with hand-mills turned by women. The lands belonging to the monasteries were best cultivated, because the superiors and directors of those foundations spent some part of their time in the salutary and laudable labours of the field.

"In ancient times," says the author of the black book in the exchequer, "our kings received neither gold nor silver from their tenants, but only provisions for the daily use of their household. This custom continued even after the conquest, during the whole reign of William I., and I myself have conversed with several old people who had seen the royal tenants paying their rents in several kinds of provisions

at the king's court." By the laws of Ina, king of the West-Saxons, the following rent was to be paid for a farm consisting of ten hides of land; namely, ten casks of honey, three hundred loaves, twelve casks of strong ale, thirty casks of small ale, two oxen, ten wethers, ten geese, twenty hens, ten cheeses, one cask of butter, five salmon, and one hundred eels. In some places the rents were paid in wheat, rye, oats, malt, flour, hogs, and sheep, according to the nature of the farm, or the custom of the country. But, though this was the usual mode of payment, money-rents for lands were not altogether unknown in England in the period under review.

When the arts and practices of the husbandman were so imperfect, it cannot be supposed that those of the gardener had made greater progress. There is, however, sufficient evidence, that gardens were cultivated, and fruit-trees planted and engrafted, in this period, particularly by the monks.

The useful art of architecture suffered no less than agriculture, by the departure of the Romans. That ingenious and active people, with the assistance of their British subjects, who were instructed by them, had adorned their dominions in this island with a great number of elegant and magnificent structures, both for public and private use. Some of these structures were built with so much solidity, that they would have resisted all the attacks of time, and remained to this day, if they had not been wilfully destroyed. This was done by the Anglo-Saxons, in the course of their long wars against the unhappy Britons; for it seems to have been a maxim with these ferocious conquerors, to destroy all the towns and castles which they took from their enemies, instead of preserving them for their own use. Like all the other nations of Germany, they had been accustomed to live in wretched hovels, built of wood or earth, and covered with straw, or the branches of trees; nor did they much improve in the knowledge of architecture for 200 years after their arrival. During that period, masonry was quite unknown in this island, and the walls even of cathedrals were built of wood.*

Masonry was restored, and some other arts connected with it were introduced into England, towards the end of the seventh century, by two clergymen, who had often visited

* Dr. Henry's History of Great-Britain.

Rome, where they had acquired some taste for these arts. These were, the famous Wilfred, bishop of York, and Benedict Biscop, founder of the abbey of Weremouth. "In the year 674," says Bede, "Benedict crossed the sea, and brought with him a number of masons, in order to build the church of his monastery of stone, after the Roman manner, of which he was a great admirer. When the work was far advanced, he sent agents into France to procure glass-makers to glaze the windows of his church and monastery, who not only performed the work required by Benedict, but instructed the English in the art of making glass for windows, lamps, drinking-vessels, and other uses." The ancient Britons, indeed, were acquainted with this art; but the Saxons had rarely practised it before this period.

The art of building edifices of stone, with windows of glass, and other ornaments, did not greatly flourish for several centuries after the time of Benedict; so that, when Alfred the Great formed the design of rebuilding his ruined cities, churches, and monasteries, and of adorning his dominions with magnificent structures, he was obliged to invite artificers from foreign countries. Nor is it the least praise of this illustrious prince, that he was the greatest builder and the best architect of the age in which he lived. There is sufficient evidence, however, that, long after his time, almost all the houses in England, and the greatest part of the monasteries and churches, were very mean buildings, constructed of wood, and covered with thatch. The Anglo-Saxon nobility had no taste for magnificent buildings; but spent their great revenues in mean, low, and inconvenient houses. From the few remains of Saxon architecture in England, it appears to have been a rude imitation of the ancient Roman manner, and very different from that which is commonly called Gothic, of which so many noble specimens adorn our country. The most admired of the Saxon churches seem to have been low and gloomy, their pillars plain and clumsy, their walls immoderately thick, their windows few and small, with semicircular arches at the top.

At this period our ancestors were not unacquainted with the art of working in gold, silver, iron, lead, and jewels. The famous St. Dunstan was the best blacksmith, brazier, goldsmith, and engraver, of his time. Many trinkets, made by this celebrated mechanic, were long preserved in the church, as the most precious reliques, and objects of the highest veneration.

From the following lines it has been inferred, (though it is not absolutely certain,) that he was the inventor of the Æolian harp:

"St. Dunstan's harp, on the church-wall,
 "Upon a pin did hang:
 "The harp itself, with strings and all,
 "Untouch'd by hand did twang*."

Among the various artists employed by Alfred the Great, there were not a few who wrought in gold and silver, and, with the instructions of their royal master, performed several works in these precious metals, of incomparable beauty. The truth of this assertion, says Dr. Henry, is abundantly confirmed by that most beautiful jewel of exquisite workmanship, found at Ethelingey, in Somersetshire, where this great prince concealed himself in his distress, and where he sometimes resided in his prosperity. "Alfred ordered me to be made," was the inscription upon this jewel, which was certainly worn by that prince.

Artificers who wrought in iron were highly regarded in those warlike times, because they fabricated swords and other offensive arms, as well as defensive armour. Every military officer had his smith, who constantly attended his person, to keep his arms and armour in order. The chief smith was an officer of considerable dignity, in the courts of the Anglo-Saxon and Welsh kings, where he enjoyed various privileges. He sat next to the domestic chaplain, and was entitled to a draught of every kind of liquor brought into the hall.

The number of battles fought in England, during this period, is almost incredible. We may, therefore, reasonably suppose, that the pernicious art of shedding human blood was brought to greater perfection than useful and beneficent arts. The Anglo-Saxon armies were generally attended in their march by waggons loaded with arms and provisions, and sometimes with their wives and children. They surrounded their camp in the night with these waggons, which served as a fortification. The art of war, however, was not reduced to a science, as it is in our times.

Nations, who worship images, naturally encourage those who have any taste or genius for the art of making them. If the sculptor's art does not owe its origin, it certainly owes its greatest improvements, to idolatry. The Anglo-Saxons,

* Pennant.

at the time of their settlement in this island, had the art of carving in wood, or cutting in stone, the images of their deities. When Coifi, the chief priest of the Northumbrian Saxons, was converted to Christianity, he overturned the altars, and broke down the statues of their gods, in the great temple at Godmundham, near York. The shapes of the statues of these deities, with their various emblems, are still preserved in several publications.

The painters, as well as sculptors, of the ages which we are now considering, were chiefly employed in working for the church, by drawing pictures of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, the apostles, and other saints. The first pictures used in this island, for the ornament of the Anglo-Saxon churches, were brought from Rome. But as the expense of bringing them all from the continent was sensibly felt, such of the English, particularly of the clergy, as had a taste for painting, applied to that art, in order to furnish their own churches with these admired ornaments; and some of these ingenious men were even acquainted with the art of painting on glass.

Of all the pleasing arts, poetry was the most admired and cultivated during the present period. The greatest princes were no less ambitious of the laurel, than of the royal crown. Alfred was the prince of poets, as well as the best of kings, and employed his poetic talents to enlighten the minds and civilize the manners of his subjects. The poets of the north were particularly famous, and much caressed by our Anglo-Saxon kings. "I know a song," says one of them, "by which I soften and enchant the arms of my enemies, and render their weapons of no effect. I know a song which I need only to sing when men have loaded me with bonds; for, the moment I sing it, my chains fall in pieces, and I walk forth at liberty. I know a song useful to all mankind; for, as soon as hatred inflames the sons of men, the moment I sing it they are appeased. I know a song of such virtue, that, if I should be overtaken in a storm, I can hush the winds, and render the air perfectly calm."

In those days, every one who courted esteem, made it his study to be acquainted with vocal and instrumental music. To be ignorant of this art, was accounted disgraceful. Besides the harp, the Anglo-Saxons had other musical instruments, particularly the small pipe, the bag-pipe, the flute, and tabor.

CHAP. VII.

OF COMMERCE AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

THE Saxons, in achieving their sanguinary conquest, destroyed every trace of ingenuity which the Romans had introduced into the island, without bringing one peaceful art with which the Britons were not better acquainted; and the inveterate wars between the princes of the heptarchy afterwards obstructed the usual progress of civilization. But no sooner was England united into one kingdom, under Egbert, than commerce and manufactures began to flourish.

The principal English exports, during the Anglo-Saxon times, were tin, lead, wool, hides, horses, and *slaves*! These slaves consisted not solely of such unhappy persons as the laws of war, or other causes, had reduced to the condition of perpetual servitude. The Anglo-Saxons are accused, by contemporary writers, of making merchandise even of their nearest relatives; "a custom, (adds a respectable historian, who lived after the Norman conquest,) which prevails in Northumberland, even in our own days."

Though the commerce and navigation of the Anglo-Saxons were cruelly injured by the invasions of the Danes, yet England, at that time, contained many large trading towns, and a greater number of inhabitants, both in the towns and in the country, than could have been expected in such a turbulent and hostile period. London, York, Bristol, Exeter, and Norwich, were great and populous cities.

From the representation of the Anglo-Saxon vessels in the famous tapestry of Bayeux, it appears, that they were a kind of galleys with one mast, on which was spread one very large sail, by means of a yard raised almost to the top with pulleys. Their shape was not inelegant, and their prows were adorned with the heads of men, lions, and other animals.

The Anglo-Saxon coins were mancuses, shillings, pennies, halfings, and feorthlings. The mancus was a gold coin, equal to seven shillings of our present money, and the shilling, a silver coin, was equal to eleven pence three farthings. The penny was likewise a silver coin, equal to three pence of our money. As it would be inconvenient, at present, to have no smaller coins than crown-pieces, so it would have been equally inconvenient, in the Saxon times, to have had

no coins of less value than those penny-pieces. To prevent this, they coined halflings, or halfpennies of silver, worth about three halfpence, and feorthlings, or the fourth of their penny, worth about three farthings of our money. But after all, when many articles were so very cheap, it would still have been inconvenient to have had no coin of less value than the silver farthing; and therefore they coined a brass piece, called a *styca*, of the value of half a farthing of their money, and of a farthing and a half of ours. The Anglo-Saxon pound was not a real coin. Coins of such weight would at any time be inconvenient; but when the precious metals were so scarce and valuable, they would have been peculiarly improper. A pound, therefore, signified as many coins as were made out of a pound of metal, and, if thrown into the scale, would have weighed about twelve ounces Troy.

CHAP. VIII.

CHARACTER AND MANNERS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS AND DANES.

THE Anglo-Saxons were tall, robust, and handsome. Their graceful appearance attracted the notice, and excited the admiration of Gregory the Great, when he beheld some English youths exposed to sale in the market-place at Rome. He was so much struck with the beauty of their persons, that when he was informed that they and their countrymen were not yet converted to Christianity, he broke out into this exclamation: "How lamentable is it, that the prince of darkness should have such beautiful subjects, and that a nation so amiable in their bodies should have none of the charms of divine grace in their souls! Their form is truly angelic, and they are fit to be the companions of the angels in heaven." Active in emergency, and inured to fatigue, the Anglo-Saxons were intrepid in danger. They were extremely hospitable, but addicted to excessive drinking, and very apt to quarrel when they were intoxicated. They were so fond of gaming, that, after losing their estates and effects, they often played away their persons and liberties. Of the endowments of their minds, it is not easy to form an accurate estimate.

Many of the Anglo-Saxons were remarkable for their longevity. When the famous Turketul, who had been chancellor of England, and one of the greatest warriors and

statesmen of his time, retired from the world, and became abbot of Croyland, he found three very aged monks in that monastery, to whom he paid particular attention. The eldest of these monks died in 973, after he had completed the 168th year of his age; the second died, in the same year, at the age of 142; and the third died in 974, in his 115th year.

The Danes, who constituted so great a proportion of the inhabitants, and were for some time the predominant people of England in this period, were of as bold and intrepid a spirit as the Saxons had ever been, and rather more fierce and warlike. In those ages, the people of Scandinavia, comprehending the kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, breathed nothing but war, and were animated with a most astonishing spirit of enterprise and adventure. By their numerous fleets, they rode triumphant in all the European seas, carrying terror and desolation to the coasts of Germany, France, Spain, Italy, England, Scotland, and Ireland. The inhabitants of all these countries, especially of the sea-coast, lived in continual apprehensions of those dreadful enemies; and it made a part of their daily prayers to be preserved by Providence from their destructive visits. Born as they were in fleets or in camps, the first objects, on which they fixed their eyes, were arms, storms, battles, and slaughter; and these terrible objects by degrees became familiar, and at length delightful to them. Their childhood and their dawn of youth were wholly spent in running, leaping, climbing, swimming, wrestling, boxing, fighting, and such exercises as hardened both their souls and bodies, and disposed and fitted them for the toils of war. As soon as they began to lisp, they were taught to sing the exploits and victories of their ancestors; their memories were stored with nothing but tales of warlike and piratical expeditions, of defeating their enemies, burning cities, plundering provinces, and of the wealth and glory acquired by brave exploits. With such an education, it was no wonder that their youthful hearts soon began to beat high with martial ardour; and that they early became impatient to grasp the sword and spear, and to mingle with their fathers, brothers, and companions, in the bloody conflict. It was one of their martial laws, "that a Dane who wished to acquire the character of a brave man, should always attack *two* enemies, stand firm and receive the attack of *three*, retire only one pace from *four*, and flee from no fewer than *five*."*

* Henry's History of Great-Britain.

The Anglo-Saxons and Danes were rude and unpolished in their address, and haughty in their deportment. The manners of the Welsh, in this dark period, must have been even less delicate than those of the Anglo-Saxons; for they thought it necessary to make a law, "that none of the courtiers should give the queen a blow, or snatch any thing with violence out of her hands, under the penalty of forfeiting her majesty's protection."

With regard to their marriage-ceremonies, on the day before the wedding, all the friends and relatives of the bridegroom, having been invited, arrived at his house, and spent the time in feasting, and in preparing for the approaching ceremony. On the ensuing morning, the bridegroom's company mounted on horseback, completely armed, and proceeded in great state and order, to conduct the bride in safety to the house of her future husband. The company proceeded in this martial array to do honour to the bride, and to prevent her from being intercepted and *carried off* by any of her former lovers. After the nuptial benediction was given, both the bridegroom and bride were decorated by the priest with crowns made of flowers, which were kept in the church for that purpose. Marriages, on that account, and for several other reasons, were most commonly celebrated in the summer season. The wedding-dresses of the bride, and three of her maidens, and of the bridegroom, and three of his attendants, were of a peculiar colour and fashion, and could not be used on any other occasion. These dresses, therefore, were anciently the perquisites of the minstrels or musicians, who had attended the wedding; but afterwards, when the minstrels had fallen into disgrace, they were commonly given to some church or monastery. At night the new-married pair were conducted to their apartment, and placed on the hymeneal couch, where they drank of the marriage-cup with all who were present. Next morning the whole company assembled in their apartment before they arose, to hear the husband declare the *morning-gift*, or what settlement and indulgences he would grant his wife; and, when the gift was declared, a competent number of his relatives became sureties, that he would perform what he promised. The feastings and rejoicings continued several days after the marriage, and seldom ended till all the provisions were consumed. To indemnify the husband, in some degree, for all these expenses, the relatives of both parties made him some presents.

The laws of matrimony were observed with great strictness. Examples of adultery were extremely rare, and punished with much severity. The husband of an adulteress, in the presence of her relatives, cut off her hair, stripped her almost naked, turned her out of his house, and whipped her from one end of the village to the other. A woman, who had been thus exposed, never recovered her character; and neither youth, beauty, nor riches, could ever procure her another husband.

Ladies of high rank generally nursed their own children. This laudable practice, however, did not continue to be universal among them; otherwise there would have been no occasion for the following severe remark: "A certain wicked custom hath arisen among married people," says one, "that some ladies refuse to nurse the children whom they brought forth, but deliver them to other women to be nursed."

As the Anglo-Saxons admired valour and intrepidity above all other qualities, they were very anxious to discover whether their sons would be possessed of them, and had various methods of putting their courage to the trial, even in infancy. Of those modes the following was the most common. At an appointed time, the family and friends being assembled, the father placed his infant son on the slanting side of the roof of his house, and there left him. If the child began to cry, and appeared to be afraid of falling, the spectators were much dejected, and prognosticated, that he would be a coward; but if he clung boldly to the thatch, and discovered no marks of fear, they were transported with joy, and pronounced that he would be a brave warrior.

As to rites of sepulture, it was so much the custom of the Anglo-Saxons to deposit the bodies of their dead on the surface of the ground, and to cover them with earth and stones, that they did this even when they buried them in churches; and the floors of some churches were so much encumbered with these little mounts, that they became quite unfit for the celebration of divine service. The inconveniences of this practice were at length so sensibly felt, that several canons were made against burying any in churches, except priests, or saints, or such as paid dearly for that privilege. It was likewise decreed, that those who were buried in them should be deposited in graves of a proper depth under the pavement. The house in which a dead body lay before it was buried, was a scene of continued feasting, singing, dancing, and all

kinds of diversions. In some places of the north, they kept the dead unburied till they had consumed all the wealth which the deceased had left, in games and in feasting. This custom had prevailed in the times of Paganism, and was discouraged by the church; but it was too agreeable to the general fondness for feasting and rioting to be soon abandoned.

The Anglo-Saxon kings, queens, and nobles, lived in a kind of rude pomp and state, and were always surrounded with a crowd of officers, dependents, and domestics. Canute the Great, who was the richest and most magnificent prince in Europe, of his time, never appeared in public, nor undertook any journey, without a retinue of three thousand armed men.

Of the Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon language, the origin is indisputably Gothic; and from the same source, we have reason to believe, sprang the Greek and Roman languages. Some learned men have discovered a remarkable affinity between the Greek and Anglo-Saxon tongues, both in their radical words, and in their general structure. With this view they have collected a considerable number of words, which are names of the most necessary and common things, and of a similar sound and sense in both languages. The resemblance, between the Anglo-Saxon and modern English, is so great, that most of the words of the former are still in use, though many of them are much changed in their spelling and meaning.

The Anglo-Saxons and Danes long retained that fondness for bathing in warm water, which they had derived from their ancestors. In their laws, the warm bath is always considered as one of the necessities of life, and no less indispensable than victuals, drink, or clothing. A common penance enjoined by the canons of the church, to such as had been guilty of great sins, was, to abstain for a certain time from the warm bath, and to give victuals, drink, clothes, firing, bath, and beds, to a certain number of poor people. On the other hand, they had a very great aversion to bathing in cold water, which was therefore enjoined as a penance.

The nobility spent the greatest part of their revenues in giving entertainments to their friends and followers. These feasts were more remarkable for their abundance than for their elegance. Some kinds of provisions were then used which would not now be touched, but in the extremity of famine. The Danish inhabitants of Northumberland, in particular, were fond of horse-flesh, which they devoured in

great quantities. Ale was the favourite liquor of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, as it had been of their German ancestors. As trade was in its infancy, wine was both scarce and dear in Britain. Mead was also one of the luxuries of life, and could be procured only by persons of considerable opulence. Pigment was one of the richest and most delicious liquors of those times, and so much admired both in England and on the continent, that it was commonly called nectar. It was a sweet and odoriferous liquor, made of honey, wine, and spiceries. Morat was also esteemed a delicacy, and was found only at the tables of the great. It was made of honey, diluted with the juice of mulberries.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST, A.D. 1066, TO THE DEATH OF KING JOHN, A.D. 1216.

WE have already seen the duke of Normandy victorious at Hastings. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the English nation, when the report of the disastrous defeat was diffused over the country. In order to terminate an enterprise, which he knew dispatch alone could render successful, William instantly put his army in motion, and advanced by forced marches to London. His approach increased the general alarm, and the divisions already prevalent in the English councils. The superior clergy, of whom the majority were French or Normans, began to declare in his favour; and the pope's bull, by which his undertaking was avowed and consecrated, was now openly offered as a reason for general submission. Other causes rendered it difficult for the English to defend their liberties in this critical emergency. The body of the people had, in a great measure, lost their ancient pride and independent spirit, by their recent subjection to the Danes, and deemed the inconveniences of admitting the pretensions of William less dreadful than those of bloodshed, war, and resistance. A repulse, which a party of Londoners received from five hundred Norman horse, renewed the terror of the great defeat at Hastings. The easy submission of all the inhabitants of Kent was an

additional discouragement to the metropolis; and the burning of Southwark made the citizens of London dread a like fate for their capital. Few men entertained any thoughts but of self-preservation.

The bishops set the example. The nobles, with Edgar Atheling, the natural heir to the crown, waited upon William, and declared their intention of yielding to his authority. All seemed in a state of harmony; and William, who at first was inclined to defer his coronation till the consent of the nation at large should be obtained, now hastened the ceremony. It was accordingly performed in Westminster-Abbey, apparently with general satisfaction.

The new sovereign confirmed the liberties and immunities of London, and all the other cities of England. In his whole administration he bore the semblance of the lawful prince, not of the conqueror; so that the English began to flatter themselves they had only changed the succession of their sovereigns, without injury to their form of government.

But William, notwithstanding this seeming confidence in his English subjects, and his apparent friendship for them, took care to place all real power in the hands of the Normans. He every where disarmed the inhabitants. He built fortresses in all the principal cities, which he garrisoned with Norman soldiers. He bestowed the forfeited estates on the most powerful of his captains. To one of his favourites he gave the whole county of Chester, which he erected into a palatinate, and rendered by his grant almost independent of the crown. While his civil administration wore the face of the legal magistrate, his military institutions were those of a master and tyrant.

By this mixture of rigour and lenity, he so subdued and composed the minds of the people of England, that he ventured to re-visit his native country, within six months after he had left it. On this ostentatious tour the English nobles accompanied the king. Their dress, equipage, and rich plate, astonished the Normans, who, nevertheless, looked on them as prisoners led in triumph. Meanwhile Edgar Atheling, although respectfully treated by the new sovereign, thought proper to retire from England with his sisters. His friends assert, that his flight was guided by Heaven, as it gained Malcolm of Scotland for the princess Margaret, in whose offspring the Saxon race was restored to the throne of England.

Insurrections now appeared in every part of the country, which served only to rivet the chains of the English. Acquainted with the restless disposition of the Northumbrians, who had begun the revolt, and determined to incapacitate them from ever more molesting him, William issued orders for laying waste that fertile country, which, to the extent of sixty miles, lies between the Humber and the Tees. The houses were reduced to ashes by the unfeeling Normans; the cattle were seized and driven away; the instruments of husbandry were destroyed; and the inhabitants were compelled either to seek a subsistence in the southern parts of Scotland, or to perish in the woods by cold and hunger, which many of them chose rather to do than abandon their native soil. The lives of a hundred thousand persons are computed to have been sacrificed to this stroke of barbarous policy. But William was now determined to proceed to extremities against all the natives of England, and to reduce them to a condition in which they should be no longer formidable to his government. It was a crime sufficient in an Englishman, says Mr. Hume, to be opulent, noble, or powerful; and the policy of the king, concurring with the rapacity of needy adventurers, produced an almost total revolution in the landed property of the kingdom. Ancient and honourable families were reduced to beggary. The nobles were every where treated with ignominy and contempt, while their estates were divided amongst the new-comers, subject to those military services which had been used on the continent.

At this period, likewise, a complete change was made in the ecclesiastical as well as in the civil state of the realm; for, under the pretext of disaffection to the Norman government, almost every Anglo-Saxon of rank or wealth in the church was deprived of his benefice, and replaced by a foreigner. To effect these alterations, the pope, whose vanity and avarice the sagacious conqueror took care to gratify, aided him with the full force of his then exorbitant authority. The king had even entertained the difficult project of totally abolishing the language of this country. He ordered the English youth to be instructed in the French tongue, in all the schools throughout the kingdom. The pleadings in the supreme courts of judicature were in French. The deeds were often drawn in that language; and the laws were composed in the same. No other tongue was used at court. It became the language of all fashionable company, and the

natives themselves affected to excel in it. To this attempt of the Conqueror, and to the foreign dominions so long annexed to the crown of England, we owe that predominant mixture of French which is found in our language.

Desirous of procuring accurate information of the state of his kingdom, with a view to taxation and other points of arbitrary policy, William gave orders for a survey of all the lands: Domesday-book, the result of this investigation, is still preserved in the Exchequer.

The king's love of the chase prompted him not only to enact severe laws against those who interfered with him in this favourite amusement, but also to depopulate the country in Hampshire, to the extent of thirty miles. Having expelled the inhabitants, and destroyed all the villages, houses, plantations, and even churches, which stood within that tract, he reserved it for the habitation of wild beasts, and distinguished it by the name of the New Forest.

The repose of this fortunate prince was disturbed in his old age, by the rebellion of his eldest son Robert, who had been appointed governor of Normandy, but now assumed the government as sovereign of that province, in which he was favoured by the king of France. William, seeing a war inevitable, entered upon it with his usual vigour, and with incredible celerity transporting a brave English army, invaded France.

As the grounds of the quarrel between the Norman and Philip were not very important, a truce was soon concluded, and a perfect harmony might have been restored, had not the French monarch dropped a sarcastic remark on the enormous corpulency of his antagonist. William had kept his bed some days, and was told that Philip had enquired, whether the king of England was not yet delivered of his great belly? This coarse jest had fatal consequences. For the irritated William, alluding to the custom of France, sent word to Philip, that "ten thousand lances should attend his churching at Notre Dame, instead of the usual tapers." To make this promise good, he flew to arms, and ravaged the isle of France to the walls of Paris. He involved in flames the city of Mante, sparing neither churches, convents, nor the hapless priests and nuns, who hoped to find security in religious edifices. The heat of the weather and of the flames, added to the effect of a bruise from the pommel of his saddle, finished the earthly course of this hitherto-invincible prince, on the ninth of September, 1087.

The spirit of William I. was bold and enterprising, yet guided by prudence; and his exorbitant ambition, which lay little under the restraints of justice, and still less under those of humanity, ever submitted to the dictates of reason and sound policy. Though not insensible to generosity, he was hardened against compassion; and he seemed equally ostentatious, and ambitious of renown, in his clemency and in his vengeance.

William II. (surnamed Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair,) a brave and intrepid prince, was repeatedly engaged in war with his oppressed and discontented subjects. The succession to the crown of England was disputed between him and his elder brother, Robert, whom the Normans very much loved. The contest, however, ended in favour of William. About this time the crusades to the Holy Land began, and Robert, who was among the first to engage in them, accommodated his disputes with William for a sum of money, which that monarch levied from the clergy.

William was accidentally killed as he was hunting in the New Forest, by Sir Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, who instantly embarked for the Holy Land to expiate the involuntary deed. This prince built Westminster-hall, as it now stands, and added several works to the Tower, which he surrounded with a wall and ditch.

Prince Henry (surnamed *Beauclerc* on account of his learning) was hunting in the New Forest, when he received intelligence of his brother's death. Having secured the royal treasure at Winchester, which he knew to be necessary for facilitating his designs on the crown, he hastened with it to London, where in less than three days he was crowned. Thus by his courage and celerity he intruded himself into the vacant throne, no one having sufficient spirit or sense of duty to appear in favour of Robert, who was still engaged in the crusade. He rendered himself popular by his marriage with Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling. This lady, on the death of her father, had been educated in a nunnery in England, and had worn the veil, although she had never taken the vows;—a circumstance which was, at first, thought to militate against her being permitted to marry. It was, however, determined in a council of prelates and nobles, that, as she had assumed the veil for the protection of her honour, during the late troubles, she was still free to marry; and her

nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and solemnity. Thus was the long breach, between the Saxon and Norman interests, finally united, to the great satisfaction of the English.

Henry made himself master of the duchy of Normandy, and, with the most ungenerous meanness, detained his brother Robert a prisoner till the time of his death, which was a period of twenty-eight years. He was afterwards engaged in a sanguinary but successful war with France. He died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, having settled the succession upon his daughter Matilda, widow to Henry V. emperor of Germany.

The crown, however, was seized by Stephen earl of Blois, the son of Adela, daughter to William the Conqueror. In the mean time, Matilda found a generous protector in her uncle, David, king of Scotland, and a worthy subject in her natural brother, Robert, earl of Gloucester, who headed her party, till her son was of age. A long and bloody war ensued. The barons, who dreaded the power of the clergy, inclined towards Matilda; and Stephen, having been abandoned by most of his partisans, was defeated and taken prisoner in 1141. The nobles and clergy now demanded to be governed by the Saxon laws, according to the charter granted by Henry I.; and, finding Matilda refractory, they drove her out of England. Stephen, having ostensibly recovered his throne, found that his clergy and nobility had in fact excluded him from the government, by building 1100 castles, in which the owners lived as independent princes. He endeavoured to procure from them a recognition of the claim of his son Eustace to the succession; but this attempt so highly exasperated the clergy, that they invited Henry (Matilda's son by Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou) to assert his hereditary right. Eustace dying soon after the arrival of the young prince, Stephen was permitted, by a treaty, to retain the name and office of king, during his life; and Henry, who was in fact invested with the chief executive power, soon acquired the sovereignty by the usurper's death.

Henry II. commenced his reign in 1154. The first acts of his government corresponded with the high idea entertained of his abilities. He dismissed all the mercenary troops, and demolished the newly-erected castles, which had proved so many sanctuaries to rebels. But the exorbitant power of the clergy, and the conduct of Thomas

Becket, whom he had raised from a low station to the dignity of chancellor, and primate of all England, gave him great uneasiness. Becket, while chancellor, was pompous in his retinue, sumptuous in his furniture, and luxurious in his table, beyond what Britain had ever seen in a subject. His house was a place of education for the sons of the chief nobility, and the king himself often condescended to partake of his entertainments. His amusements were as gay as his manner of life was splendid and elegant. He employed himself, at leisure hours, in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horsemanship. His complaisance and good humour had rendered him agreeable, and his industry and abilities useful, to his master. But no sooner was he installed in the see of Canterbury, which rendered him the second person in the kingdom, than he secretly aspired at being, in effect, the first. He maintained, in his retinue and attendants alone, his usual pomp and lustre; in his own person, he affected the greatest austerity and mortification. He wore sack-cloth next his skin; his food was generally bread, and his drink water; he lacerated his back with frequent discipline, and he daily washed the feet of thirteen beggars. Thus did Becket, by a pretended sanctity, set himself up as the champion of the clergy, in opposition to the crown. The king assembled his nobility at Clarendon, a name still famous for the constitutions there enacted, which abolished the authority of the Romish see over the English clergy, and rendered the church dependent upon the civil power. Becket, finding it in vain to resist the torrent, signed those constitutions, till they could be ratified by the pope, who, as he foresaw, rejected them. In the mean time, however, being convicted of robbing the public, while he was chancellor, he fled to France, where the pope and the French king espoused his cause. The consequence was, that all the English clergy on the king's side were excommunicated, and the subjects absolved from their allegiance. This disconcerted Henry so much, that he condescended to treat with the rebel prelate, and, on one occasion, humbled himself so far, as to hold the stirrup while he mounted his horse. This humility swelled Becket's pride, and increased his insolence, which at last became insupportable to Henry. Finding that he was only the first subject in his own dominions, he was heard to say in the anguish of his heart, "Is there no one who will revenge his monarch's cause upon this audacious priest?" These words reached the ears of four knights, who immediately set out for Can-

A.D. 1170. terbury, and murdered Becket before the altar of his own church. Such was the tragical death of this lofty and inflexible prelate, who was able to cover from the world, and probably from himself, the efforts of pride and ambition, under the disguise of sanctity, and of zeal for the interests of religion.

The intelligence of this murder threw Henry into the greatest consternation. He shut himself up for three days, and refused to take any sustenance. He chiefly dreaded the displeasure of the pope. He found means, however, by a well-timed embassy, to divert the pontiff's anathemas from himself: they were only directed in general terms against the actors, accomplices, and abettors of the murder. The clergy, though their rage was thus happily diverted from falling immediately on the king, were not idle in extolling the merits of Becket's martyrdom. Endless were their panegyrics on his piety. Two years after his death he was canonised: a solemn jubilee for celebrating his merit was established; his body was removed to a magnificent shrine, enriched with presents from all parts of Christendom; and it is computed that, in one year, above a hundred thousand pilgrims arrived at Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb. It is indeed a mortifying reflection (says Mr. Hume) to those who are actuated by the love of fame, so justly denominated the last infirmity of noble minds, that the wisest legislator, and most exalted genius that ever reformed or enlightened the world, can never expect such tributes of praise, as are lavished on the memory of pretended saints. It is only a conqueror, by no means an amiable character, who can pretend to the attainment of equal renown and glory.

As soon as Henry found that he was in no immediate danger from the thunders of the Vatican, he undertook an expedition to Ireland, which the pope had graciously permitted him to conquer, and which he in a great measure subdued. After this success, he was involved in a war with the king of Scotland, who, in concert with the French monarch and Henry's eldest son, menaced him with the ruin of his authority.

Sensible of his danger, and of the effects of superstition on the minds of the people, Henry went barefoot to Becket's tomb, prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint, remained in fasting and prayer during a whole day, and watched all night the holy reliques. He even submitted to

a penance still more singular and humiliating. He assembled a chapter of the monks, put a scourge of discipline into the hands of each, and presented his bare shoulders to the lashes which these ecclesiastics inflicted upon him! The next morning, he received absolution; and his generals obtained, on the same day, a great victory over the Scots, which was regarded as a proof of his final reconciliation with heaven.

The amours of this monarch rendered him unhappy in his old age. Among the number of his mistresses, was Rosamond, daughter of lord Clifford, usually distinguished by the appellation of *Fair Rosamond*, on account of her exquisite beauty. We are told that Henry, who entertained a violent and lasting affection for this lady, concealed her in a labyrinth in Woodstock-park, where she was at length discovered, and poisoned by the queen; but this part of the story seems to be fabulous. His infidelity, however, was keenly resented by his queen Eleanor. He had married this princess from motives of ambition, as the valuable duchy of Aquitaine was her portion. Jealous, haughty, and implacable, she encouraged his sons in repeated rebellions, which so affected their father, that he died of a fever at Chinon in France, in the 57th year of his age. For wisdom, virtue, and abilities, Henry was the greatest prince of his time. A.D. 1189.

His son, Richard I., (surnamed *Cœur de Lion* from his great courage;) undertook a crusade to the Holy Land, where he performed prodigies of valour. After several glorious, but fruitless, campaigns, he commenced his return to England, but was treacherously surprised by the duke of Austria, who sent him a prisoner to the emperor Henry VI. That sordid prince extorted 150,000 marks for the release of his illustrious prisoner, who, finding likewise an enemy in the king of France, was obliged to defend himself with all the vigor of hostility, but was at length killed in a private dispute with the proprietor of the castle of Chalus. One Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, took aim at him, and pierced his shoulder with an arrow. The king immediately gave orders for the assault, took the place, and hanged all the garrison, except Gourdon, whom he reserved for a more cruel execution. The wound in itself was not dangerous; but the unskilful surgeon, in extracting the arrow, so irritated the part, that a gangrene ensued, and it proved mortal. When Richard found his end approaching, he sent

for Gourdon, and asked why he sought his life. "My father, and my two brothers," replied the undaunted soldier, "fell by your sword. I am now in your power, and you may do your worst; but I shall endure the most severe torments with pleasure, since Heaven has afforded me ample revenge." Struck with the boldness of the reply, and humbled by his approaching dissolution, Richard ordered the prisoner to be set at liberty; but his blood-thirsty general, Marcadée, seized the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him.

The reign of John, who succeeded his brother Richard, is infamous in the English history. He put to death prince Arthur, who had the hereditary right to the crown, being the son of his elder brother Geoffrey. His misfortunes commenced with this crime. All men were struck with horror at the inhuman deed, and he was from that moment detested by his subjects, both in England and on the continent. Through his baseness and cowardice, the English lost the greatest part of their territories in France. The church also, which had not declined a contest with the most powerful monarchs, took advantage of John's imbecility, and, with the most aggravating circumstances of insolence and scorn, forced her yoke upon him. Pope Innocent ordered the monks of Canterbury, without the king's permission, to elect for their primate, cardinal Langton, an Englishman by birth, but attached to the see of Rome.

John was greatly enraged when he heard of this infringement of his prerogative, and, venting his passion on the monks, sent two knights to expel them from their convent, and take possession of their revenues. The pontiff, in revenge, laid the kingdom under an interdict. By this sentence, the nation was suddenly deprived of all the exterior rites of religion. The altars were despoiled of their ornaments. The crosses, the reliques, the images, the statues of the saints, were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itself had been profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The use of bells ceased in all the churches. The bells themselves were removed from the steeples, and laid on the ground, with the other sacred utensils. Mass was celebrated with shut doors, and only the priests were admitted to that holy institution. The dead were not interred in consecrated ground, but were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields. The people were pro-



KING JOHN SIGNING MAGNA-CHARTA.

RELIGIOUS SPIRIT OF THIS PERIOD. 81

hibited from the use of meat, as in Lent, and debarred from all pleasures and amusements. They were forbidden even to salute each other, to shave their beards, or to give any decent attention to their persons and apparel. Every thing wore the appearance of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehension of divine vengeance and indignation.

John at last so much dreaded a French invasion, that he became a tributary to the pope, and laid his crown and regalia at the foot of the legate Pandolf, who kept them for five days. The great barons resented his meanness, by taking arms; but he repeated his shameful submissions to the pope, and, after experiencing various fortunes of war, was at last brought so low, that the barons obliged him to sign the great deed so well known by the name of *Magna Charta*. This memorable affair was transacted at Runymede, A.D. 1215. between Windsor and Staines, a spot ever since deservedly celebrated, and even hallowed by every zealous lover of liberty. Though John seemed to submit to all these regulations, he only dissembled till he could find an opportunity of annulling all his concessions. When he had called upon the pope for protection, the barons withdrew their allegiance from him, and transferred it to Louis, the eldest son of Philip Augustus, king of France. But the imprudent partiality of Louis to his countrymen encreased that jealousy which it was so natural for the English to entertain in their present situation, and did great injury to his cause. Many of the barons returned to the king's party; and John was preparing to make a last effort for his crown, when death put an end to his troubles and his crimes, in 1216, in the fifty-first year of his age. His character is nothing but a complication of vices, equally mean and odious, ruinous to himself, and destructive to his people.

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A BLIND obedience to the pope being as much a tenet of the Norman monks, as it had been of their predecessors the Anglo-Saxons, little change was made in the English church by the invasion in 1066. But the high-spirited foreigners, who replaced the churchmen whom William drove from their benefices, soon disputed about precedence; and it was not without great difficulty that the archbishop



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of York could be brought to yield obedience to Lanfranc, of Canterbury, a zealous champion for the doctrine of transubstantiation, then little known in Great-Britain.

The celibacy of the clergy, though enjoined by many canons, met with great opposition. By one of the canons of an English council, held at Winchester in 1076, the secular clergy, who had wives, were allowed to keep them; which is a sufficient proof that they formed a very powerful party. But those who had not wives were forbidden to marry; and bishops were prohibited from ordaining any man who had a wife.

The crusades were the plague of Europe, and the scourge of Asia and Egypt, during this period. They ruined millions of families, and involved even the opulent in misery and want. To defray the enormous expense, the rich oppressed their vassals, and obliged them, amidst poverty and despair, to enlist in the crusade. The crusaders were invested by the pope with privileges, detrimental to the honours of the Deity, and the common rights of their neighbours. They were exempted from all prosecution for debt, during the time of their service. They paid no taxes to their sovereigns, nor any interest for what money they had borrowed. They had power to alienate their lands, without the consent of their superiors. They had the full pardon of all their sins, past, present, or future, confirmed to them by the papal bulls; and they were assured that angels would carry their souls immediately to heaven, if they should die in the holy warfare. Europe, by means of these expeditions, was drained of her rulers, her inhabitants, and wealth. Murders, rapes, and robberies, were every where committed with impunity, by these pretended armies of Christ, whilst Asia, and part of Europe, exhibited a scene of blood and horrid devastation. Previous to their march, the adventurers in these holy wars disposed of their possessions, as at the point of death. To secure the protection of Heaven, amidst their expected dangers, they bequeathed large donations to the monks and priests; and those who had law-suits with the clergy, gave them up in their favour.

A great number of the bishops and abbots having accompanied the sacred troops as commanders, volunteers, or chaplains, the priests and monks, in their absence, abandoned themselves to luxury and wickedness. We are informed, by Giraldus Cambrensis, that the prior and monks of St. Swithin threw themselves prostrate on the ground and in the mire

before Henry II., complaining, with many tears and much doleful lamentations, that the bishop of Winchester, who was also their abbot, had cut off three dishes from their table. How many has he left you? said the king. Ten only, replied the disconsolate monks. I myself, exclaimed the king, never had more than three; and I enjoin your bishop to reduce you to the same number.

CHAP. III.

OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS.

THE feudal law is the chief foundation both of the government and juris-prudence established by the Normans in England. According to the principles of this law, the king was the supreme lord of the landed property; for the term *feudal* implies, that any possession so called is held from another. The land was conceived to be a species of benefice, for which the vassal owed stated services to his baron, as the baron himself did to the crown. The vassal was obliged to defend his baron in war; and the baron, at the head of his vassals, was bound to fight in defence of the king and kingdom.

As the duke of Normandy, by taking the usual oath administered to the Anglo-Saxon kings at their coronation, had solemnly engaged to maintain the constitution, the English had reason to believe that they had only changed their native sovereign for one of foreign extraction. But, though William for some time affected moderation, and even adopted some of the laws of Edward the Confessor, he soon utterly subverted the form of government; and, in its stead, substituted a rigid feudal monarchy, or military aristocracy, in which a regular chain of subordination and of service was established. This was attended with a grievous depression of the body of the people, who were daily exposed to the insults and exactions of the nobles, whose vassals they were, and from whose oppressive jurisdiction it was difficult and dangerous for them to appeal. This depression, as might be expected, was more complete and humiliating in England, under the first Anglo-Norman princes, than in any other feudal government. William I., by his artful and tyrannical policy, by attainders and confiscations, had become, in the course of his reign,

proprietor of almost all the lands in the kingdom. The greater part of these lands he bestowed on his Norman captains, or nobles, the companions of his conquest, and the instruments of his tyranny, who had led their own vassals to battle. But those grants he clogged with heavy feudal services and payments, which none dared to refuse. The barons and tenants who held immediately of the crown, and, with the dignified clergy, formed the national assembly, imposed obligations yet more severe on their vassals, the inferior land-holders, consisting chiefly of unhappy English gentlemen. The state of England, at the death of William the Conqueror, is thus described by one of our ancient historians, who was almost contemporary with that prince: "The Normans," says he, "had now fully executed the wrath of Heaven upon the English. There was hardly one of that nation who possessed any power; they were all involved in servitude and sorrow; insomuch, that to be called an Englishman was considered as a reproach. In those miserable times, many oppressive taxes and tyrannical customs were introduced. The king himself, when he had let his lands at their full value, if another tenant came and offered more, gave them to him who offered most: and the great men were inflamed with such a *rage for money*, that they did not care by what means it was acquired. The more they *talked* of justice, the more *injuriously* they acted. Those who were called justiciaries, were the fountains of all iniquity. Sheriffs and judges, whose peculiar duty it was to pronounce righteous judgements, were the most cruel of all tyrants, and greater plunderers than common thieves."

The prerogative of buying, in preference to others, all things necessary for their court and castles, commonly called *purveyance*, which belonged to the kings of England in this period, was a source of infinite vexations and injuries to the people. "The purveyors, who attended the court," says a respectable historian, "plundered and destroyed the whole country through which the king passed, without control. Some of them were so intoxicated with malice, that when they could not consume all the provisions in the houses which they invaded, they either sold or burned them. After having washed their horses' feet with the liquors which they could not drink, they let them run out on the ground, or destroyed them in some other way."

The Saxon courts of justice were now suffered to decline. The county-court in particular, the dignity of which, for

several years, survived the Norman invasion, fell by a stroke of despotism equally unjust and impolitic; for, about the year 1085, the bishops and abbots were prohibited from sitting there. The lay-noblemen thenceforward thought it beneath their dignity to attend; and that hall of justice, whose bench used to be crowded with prelates and peers, was gradually deserted.

The king's court, after the conquest, was very splendid. Here sat the great officers of the crown, the justices, and the barons. In the monarch's absence, the first justiciary always presided. The ceremonies were magnificent, and the habits brilliant and costly. If pomp and parade could have compensated the want of equity, the Saxon jurisprudence might have been forgotten. Courts were held by the barons at the halls of their castles, where causes of a trivial nature were decided.

Fines were a considerable branch of the royal revenue. It appears, from the ancient records of the exchequer, that the kings of England, at this period, like eastern princes, could not be approached without a present. Even justice itself was bought and sold. The supreme court of judicature was only open to those who brought presents to the king. The barons of the exchequer were not ashamed to insert, as an article in their records, that the county of Norfolk gave money that they might be *fairly dealt with*. Enormous sums were paid by females, either for leave to marry, or, more commonly, that they might not be forced to wed against their will. Even ladies of high rank were not exempted from such impositions; for we find Lucia, countess of Chester, paying "five marks of silver, that she might not, during the next five years only, be compelled to marry." Ought we not then to think ourselves very happy, that we live in a civilized age, and under a limited monarchy?

Those who had not money to compound for murders, rapes, and other capital offences, were put to death; and the common place of execution was Smithfield.

But the rigour of the Anglo-Norman government, and the licentious spirit of the nobles, proved ultimately favourable to general liberty. The oppressed people looked up to the king for protection: and circumstances enabled them to obtain it. The defect of the title of William II. and of Henry I. induced them to listen to the complaints of their English subjects, and to redress many of their grievances. The people, in some measure satisfied with the relief afforded to

them, became sensible of their consequence, and of their obligations to the crown; while the barons, finding themselves in quiet possession of their English estates, and apprehending no future disturbance from the natives, bore with impatience the burthens imposed upon them by William I., and to which they had readily submitted in the hour of conquest and of danger. They saw the necessity of being more indulgent to their vassals, in order to obtain sufficient force to enable them to retrench the prerogatives of the sovereign, and of connecting their cause with that of the people.

Thus restored to a share in the legislature, the English commonalty felt more fully their own importance; and, by a long and vigorous struggle, maintained with unexampled perseverance, they wrested from both the king and the nobles all the other rights of a free people, of which their Anglo-Saxon ancestors had been robbed by the violent invasion and cruel policy of William the Norman. To those rights they were entitled, as Englishmen, by inheritance; and, as men, by the great law of nature and reason, by which the welfare of the whole community is declared to be the object of all civil government.

CHAP. IV.

LITERATURE. A. D. 1066—1216.

MOST of the persons who attempted to revive literature, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had derived their principles of science from the Greeks in the Eastern empire, or the Arabs in Spain and Africa. Both those people, acute and inquisitive to excess, corrupted the sciences which they cultivated. The Greeks rendered theology a system of speculative refinement, or endless controversy; and the Arabs communicated to philosophy a spirit of metaphysical and frivolous subtilty. Misled by these guides, the persons who first applied to science were involved in a maze of intricate inquiries. Instead of allowing their fancy to take its natural range, and to produce such works of elegant invention, as might have improved the taste and refined the sentiments of the age, they spent the whole force of their genius in speculations as unavailing as they were difficult.

Judicial astrology, in this period, was cultivated with greater diligence than the most useful science. None, indeed,

but astrologers, were honoured with the name of mathematicians. These pretended prognosticators were so much admired, that there was hardly a prince, or even nobleman, in Europe, who did not keep one or more of them in his family, to cast the horoscopes of his children, discover the success of his designs, and the public events that were to happen. The most famous of these astrologers published a kind of almanack every year, with a variety of predictions concerning the weather and other things. We have the following quotation from one of these almanacks, in the works of a learned writer of those times. "The astrologers call this year (1170) the wonderful year, from the singular situation of the planets and constellations, and say that, in the course of it, the councils of kings will be changed, wars will be frequent, and the world will be troubled with seditions; that learned men will be discouraged: but towards the end of the year they will be exalted." From this specimen we may perceive, that their predictions were couched in very general and artful terms. But, by departing from this prudent conduct, and becoming a little too plain and positive, they brought a temporary disgrace on themselves and their art. For, in the beginning of the year 1186, all the great astrologers in the Christian world agreed in declaring, that from an extraordinary conjunction of the planets in the sign *Libra*, which had never happened before, and would never happen again, there would arise, on Tuesday, the 16th of September, at three o'clock in the morning, a most dreadful storm, which would sweep away not only single houses, but even great towns and cities; and that this storm would be followed by a destructive pestilence, bloody wars, and all the plagues that had ever afflicted miserable mortals. This direful prediction spread terror and consternation over Europe, though it was contradicted by the Mohammedan astrologers of Spain, who said, there would only be a few shipwrecks, and a little failure in the vintage and harvest.

When the awful day drew near, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, commanded a solemn fast of three days to be observed over all his province. But, to the utter confusion of the poor astrologers, the 16th of September was uncommonly serene and calm, the whole season remarkably mild and healthy, "and there were no storms all that year," says a pleasant writer, "but such as the archbishop raised in the church by his own turbulence."

CHAP. V.

THE ARTS. A. D. 1066—1216.

THE conquest of England by the Normans very much contributed to the improvement of agriculture in Britain; for, by that event, many thousands of husbandmen, from the fertile plains of Flanders, France, and Normandy, settled in this island, obtained estates or farms, and employed the same methods in the cultivation of them, which they had used in their native countries.

Architecture received as great improvements as agriculture. The twelfth century, indeed, may very properly be called the age of architecture, in which the rage for building was more violent in England than at any other time. The religious of every order, enjoying peace and prosperity, displayed the most astonishing ardour in every thing that might increase the splendour of divine worship. The ancient edifices, which had been raised in the days of Edgar and Edward the Confessor, were demolished, and others of greater magnificence were erected.

As William was sensible, that the want of fortified places in England had greatly facilitated his conquest, and might facilitate his expulsion, he built strong castles in all the towns within the royal demesnes. All his earls, barons, and even prelates, imitated his example; and it was the first care of every one who received the grant of an estate from the crown, to build a castle upon it for his defence and residence. William Rufus was still a greater builder than his father. "This prince," says an early writer, "was much addicted to building royal castles and palaces, as the castles of Dover, Windsor, Norwich, Exeter, the palace of Westminster, and many others, testify; nor was there any king of England before him, who erected so many, and such noble edifices."

Sculpture, under the extensive protection of superstition, flourished in those ages. The patron saint at least adorned every church; and, in all the cathedrals, images abounded. Painting was much used by the Anglo-Normans, in the decoration of churches; and the beautiful paintings in the cathedral of Canterbury, built by archbishop Lanfranc, are much celebrated. In the specimens of their miniature-paintings, which are still extant, we perceive not only the five primary colours, but also various combinations of them. The accurate connoisseur, however, will not allow that they

were acquainted with the art of painting in oil. The illumination of books was a branch of miniature-painting followed by the monks, with great success. The materials, which these holy artists employed, were so durable, that their missals still dazzle our eyes with the brightness of their colour, and the splendour of their gilding. To adorn the Bible and other books, copper-plates are now used instead of this art.

Though poetry did not flourish during this period, it did not fail for want of patronage. Matilda, queen to Henry Beauclerc, was a generous patroness of poets. Longchamp, the favourite minister of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, kept many bards in his pay, and even allured minstrels from France to enliven the streets of London by their songs. The works, however, which met with such encouragement from people of rank, were composed in the Norman or French language, the original English poetry being little cultivated.

It was dangerous in those times to write satirical verses against men in power. Henry I. condemned one Luke de Barra to have his eyes pulled out, for writing defamatory ballads against him; and when the earl of Flanders warmly interceded for the unhappy poet, the king replied, "This man, being a wit, a poet, and a minstrel, hath composed many indecent songs against me, and sung them openly, to the great entertainment and diversion of my enemies; he shall, therefore, be punished, to deter others from the like petulance." This cruel sentence was accordingly executed on the unhappy satirist, who died of the wounds he received in struggling with the executioner.

CHAP. VI.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES. A. D. 1066—1216.

THE limits of this work will admit only a brief account of the most eminent characters.

Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, who was born in 1030, and died in 1109, wrote an excellent history of his own abbey, into which he has introduced much of the general history of the kingdom, with a variety of curious anecdotes not to be found in any other work. He was a great favourite of William the Conqueror, and obtained many privileges for his monastery, which he rebuilt.

Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1089, rebuilt the cathedral of Canterbury, and has the character of a great statesman, as well as of a learned prelate.

Anselm, the successor of *Lanfranc*, died in 1109. He was the first archbishop who restrained the English clergy from marrying. He excelled in the application of metaphysics to theological subjects; for which reason, he was considered as one of the fathers of scholastic divinity.

Eadmer, the friend and contemporary of *Anselm*, and bishop of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, wrote the history of his own time, in six books, from 1066 to 1122. This work is highly esteemed for its authenticity and purity of style.

Nicholas Brekespere, the only Englishman who ever sat in St. Peter's chair, was born near St. Alban's, and in his youth performed the meanest offices about the abbey of that place, in which his father was a monk. Being refused the habit in that monastery, he went to Rome, and, after many vicissitudes of fortune, was introduced to pope Eugenius III. who conceived so high a regard for him, that he made him a bishop. He succeeded to the popedom in 1154, and took the name of *Adrian*. He died in 1159, leaving some letters and homilies.

William of Malmsbury, a monk and librarian of that abbey, and an excellent English historian of his own time, died in 1143. Few writers have been so highly praised as this modest friar, whose humble sentiments of his own merit deserve to be recorded. "I presume not," says he, "to expect the applause of my contemporaries; but I hope that, when favour and malevolence are no more, I shall receive from impartial posterity the character of an industrious though not an eloquent historiographer."

Geoffrey Monmouth, bishop of St. Asaph, flourished in the reign of Henry I. Too much ridicule has been thrown on his history. It was not his own. The greatest part of it was translated from an Armorican manuscript. The whole is a romance; and, in those days, romance was a species of writing much honoured.

Henry of Huntingdon, a priest, poet, and historian, died in 1170. In the *Anglia Sacra* is a long letter of this author to a friend, on the contempt of the world, which contains many curious anecdotes of the kings, nobles, prelates, and other great men, who were his contemporaries.

William Little, better known by his Latin name, *Guliel-*

mus Neubrigensis, composed a history of England, in five books, from the Norman conquest to 1197, which, for veracity, regularity of disposition, and purity of language, is one of the most valuable productions of this period.

John of Salisbury, who died in 1182, was a man of such learning, that when his adherence to the turbulent Becket forced him into exile, his merit gained him the see of Chartres in France.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who died about the year 1216, wrote "A History of the World," in which his information, respecting ecclesiastical affairs, is extremely valuable.

CHAP. VII.

COMMERCE. A. D. 1066—1216.

THE commerce of England, which had not been contemptible even during the ravages of her various spoilers, began in this period to increase with some rapidity. Besides London, whose opulent traders were styled *barons*, York, Bristol, Canterbury, Exeter, and many other towns, grew rich and respectable by their attention to trade and navigation. It is painful to relate, that, for some years after the Norman invasion, slaves continued to compose a part of the exports from England, notwithstanding the decree issued by the great council against this odious traffic. More laudable exports were horses, wool, leather, cloth, corn, lead, and tin. The imports were gold, precious stones, silk, tapestry, furs, wine, and spices. So important did the regulation of their *wine* appear to the Anglo-Normans, that a *jury* was appointed in every city to examine the merits and settle the value of this enticing commodity. Spices were favourite ingredients in their meat, drink, and medicines. The Sabæans imported into London their frankincense and other spices; and from the rich country about Babylon was brought oil of palms.

Little alteration was made by the Norman invaders in the coins used by the Anglo-Saxons. In the course of this period, the silver penny is sometimes called an *esterling* or *sterling*; and good money in general is sometimes called *esterling*, or *sterling* money. It is unnecessary to mention the various conjectures of antiquaries about the origin and meaning of this appellation. The most probable opinion seems to be,

that some artists from Germany, who were called Esterlings, from the situation of their country, had been employed in fabricating our money, which consisted chiefly of silver pennies; and that from them the penny was called an esterling, and our money *esterling* or *sterling* money.

CHAP. VIII.

MANNERS. A. D. 1066—1216.

THE very singular spirit of chivalry, which began to display itself about the beginning of this period, and was introduced into England by the Normans, gave a new turn to the education of the young nobility and gentry, in order to fit them for obtaining the honour of knighthood, which was then an object of ambition to the greatest princes.

Those noble youths, who were destined for the profession of arms and the honour of knighthood, were early taken out of the hands of the women, and placed in the family of some great prince or baron. At their first entrance into this school of chivalry, they acted in the capacity of pages or valets; for those names, which are now appropriated to domestic servants, were then sometimes given to the sons and brothers of kings. In this station they were instructed in the laws of courtesy and politeness, and in the first rudiments of chivalry and martial exercises, to fit them for shining in courts, at tournaments, and on the field of battle. Henry II. received this part of his education in the family of his uncle, Robert, earl of Gloucester, who was one of the most accomplished knights of the age in which he flourished. After they had spent a competent time in the station of pages, they were advanced to the more honourable rank of esquires. Then they were admitted into more familiar intercourse with the knights and ladies of the court, and perfected in dancing, riding, hawking, hunting, tilting, and other accomplishments necessary to fit them for performing the offices of knighthood, to which they aspired. In a word, the courts of kings, princes, and great barons, were a kind of colleges of chivalry.

The martial sports, commonly called *tournaments*, were very favourite diversions in those ages. When a prince had resolved to hold a tournament, he sent heralds to the neighbouring courts and countries to publish his design, and to

invite all brave and loyal knights to honour the intended solemnity with their presence. This invitation was accepted with the greatest joy, and a vast number of ladies and gentlemen commonly assembled. All the knights who proposed to enter the lists, hung up their shields in the cloister of a neighbouring monastery, where they were viewed by the ladies and knights. If a lady touched one of the shields, it was considered as an accusation of its owner, who was immediately brought before the judges of the tournament, and tried with great solemnity; and, if found guilty of having defamed a lady, or of having done any thing unbecoming the character of a true and courteous knight, he was degraded, and expelled from the assembly with every mark of infamy. The lists were surrounded with lofty towers and scaffolds of wood, in which the princes and princesses, ladies, lords, and knights, with the judges, marshals, heralds, and minstrels, were seated in their proper places, in their richest dresses. The combatants, nobly mounted and completely armed, were conducted into the lists by their respective mistresses, in whose honour they were to fight, with bands of martial music, amidst the acclamations of the numerous spectators. In these exercises, representations were exhibited of all the different feats of actual war, from a single combat to a general action, with all kinds of arms, as spears, swords, battle-axes, and daggers. At the conclusion of every day's tournament, the judges declared the victors, and distributed the prizes, which were presented to the happy knights by the noblest and most beautiful ladies in the assembly. The victors were then conducted in triumph to the palace; their armour was taken off by the ladies of the court; they were dressed in the richest robes, seated at the table of the sovereign, and treated with every possible mark of distinction. In a word, they became the favourites of the fair, and the objects of universal admiration. The most magnificent tournament celebrated in this period, was that proclaimed by Henry II. of England, in the plains of Beaucaire, A. D. 1174. at which no fewer than 10,000 knights were present, besides ladies and other spectators.*

Though the Normans were brave and generous, they were also haughty, passionate, and licentious. Their success and prosperity in England rendered them regardless of that respect and decency with which females were commonly treated

* Dr. Henry's History of Great-Britain.

in those times, and made them rude in their behaviour to the wives and daughters of the English. This licentiousness was so great, that the princess Matilda, daughter of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, and afterwards queen of Henry I., being educated in England, was obliged to wear the veil of a nun, to preserve her honour from being violated by the Normans.

The Anglo-Normans had only two stated meals in a day, dinner and supper. The time of *dinner*, even at court, and in the families of the greatest barons, was at *nine* in the morning; and the time of supper at *five* in the afternoon. These hours were thought to be friendly to health and long life, according to the following verses, which were then often repeated.

Lever a cinq, diner a neuf,
Souper a cinq, coucher a neuf,
Fait vivre d'ans nonante et neuf.

To rise at five, to dine at nine,
To sup at five, to bed at nine,
Make a man live to ninety-nine.

The sumptuous entertainments, which the kings of England and of other countries gave to their nobles and prelates, at the festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, contributed very much to diffuse a taste for profuse and expensive living. It was natural for a proud and wealthy baron to imitate, in his own castle, the entertainments he had seen in the palace of his prince. A celebrated writer, during this period, tells us, that he was present at an entertainment which lasted from three o'clock in the afternoon to midnight, at which delicacies were served up which had been brought from Constantinople, Babylon, Alexandria, and from various parts of Syria. These delicacies, we may presume, were very expensive; for Thomas Becket gave five pounds, equivalent perhaps to sixty pounds at present, for one dish of eels. The rich had, at their tables, some kinds of provisions which are not now to be found in Britain. When Henry II. entertained his own court, the chief officers of his army, and all the kings and chieftains of Ireland, in A. D. 1171. Dublin, at the festival of Christmas, the Irish were astonished at the variety of provisions which they beheld, and were not easily prevailed upon to eat the flesh of cranes, a kind of food to which they had not been accustomed.

CHAP. IX.

INCIDENTS AND CURIOUS PARTICULARS. A. D. 1066—1216.

IN 1068, the English were required to put out their fires and candles at eight in the evening, on the ringing of the curfew-bell. They were also obliged to deliver up their arms.

In 1091, a storm at south-west blew down 600 houses and many churches in London. In the same year, Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, laments the destruction of his monastery by fire, and particularly the loss of a precious astronomical instrument, which he calls a *Nadir*. "It was a beautiful table," says he, "wherein Saturn was of copper, Jupiter of gold, Mars of iron, and the Sun of silver. The eyes were charmed and the mind instructed by beholding the colure-circles, the Zodiac and all its signs, formed with wonderful art, of metals and precious stones." Was not this an imperfect orrery?

In 1092, a dreadful conflagration destroyed the greatest part of London.

In 1100, an inundation of the sea happened, which overflowed the lands of Godwin, earl of Kent, to this day called *Godwin Sands*. Of these shoals, the late Mr. Smeaton, civil engineer, gives the following account: "Upon our journey to Ramsgate, having visited the Godwin Sands, in order to examine their nature, we found that, though, like quicksand, they were clean and unconnected, yet they lay so close that it was difficult to work a pointed iron bar into them more than to the depth of six or seven feet."

In 1108, great numbers of Flemings, leaving their country on account of floods, repaired to the eastern coasts of England, and were troublesome to the inhabitants. Henry removed them to Pembrokeshire, where their descendants still retain a distinction in language.

In 1110, Henry matched one of his illegitimate sons to the rich heiress of Fitz-Aymon. The lady had a poetical turn: and when the king told her that his son's name was Robert, she thus addressed him:

"It were to me a great shame
"To have a lord without twa name."

Henry immediately conferred on him the name of Fitz-Roy. About this period surnames were much used by people of rank in England.

In 1114, the Thames was so ill supplied with water, that people walked across between the bridge and tower of London, the water only reaching up to their knees.

In 1136, there was a great fire in London, which consumed a considerable part of the city, as well as the bridge, then built of wood.

In 1174, Henry II. called together the nobility of Langue-doc, in order to mediate a peace between the count of Thoulouse and the king of Arragon. As Henry, however, did not attend, the nobles had nothing to do but to emulate each other in wild magnificence and barbarity. The following instances, bordering upon insanity, shew the spirit of those early ages. The countess of Urgel sent to the meeting a diadem worth 2000 pounds, to be placed on the head of a wretched buffoon. The count of Thoulouse sent a diadem of the value of 4000 pounds to a favourite knight, who distributed that sum among the poorer knights. Another nobleman gave an immense dinner, cooked by the flame of wax-tapers. But the singular magnificence of count Bertrand Rimbault attracted the loudest applause; for he set the peasants around Beaucaire to plough up the soil, in which he sowed *small pieces of money*, to the amount of fifteen hundred English guineas. Piqued at this princely extravagance, and determined to surpass his neighbours in savage brutality, if he could not in prodigality, lord Raymond, having ordered thirty of his most beautiful and valuable horses to be tied to stakes and surrounded with dry wood, heroically lighted the piles, and consumed his favourites alive!

In 1209, an unfortunate circumstance occurred, which threatened the university of Oxford with destruction. A woman having been accidentally killed by a student, the townsmen seized three innocent academics, and, with the king's permission, put them to death. Shocked at this barbarity, the professors and scholars abandoned Oxford, and retired to Cambridge and Reading. In 1214, they were all reinstated by a bull from Rome.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY FROM THE DEATH OF KING JOHN, IN 1216, TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. IN 1399.

ENGLAND was in a deplorable state when the crown devolved upon Henry III., who was only nine years old. The earl of Pembroke being chosen his guardian, the French were driven out of the kingdom, and their king renounced all claims to English territory. But Henry having been persuaded to violate the great charter, the barons immediately formed an association against him; and a civil war broke out, when he was abandoned by all but his Gascons and foreign mercenaries. The famous Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, who had married his sister, being appointed general of the insurgents, proved so far successful, that the king and his brother were defeated and made prisoners in the battle of Lewes. The heir-apparent also fell into the hands of the enemy: but he soon obtained his liberty; and, assembling a considerable number of his father's subjects, put the rebels to flight, and killed Montfort. Henry died in 1272, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the fifty-seventh of his inglorious reign. But to the struggles of that time the people, in a great measure, owe the liberties of the present day.

Edward I. began his reign by confirming the great charter, and making strict enquiry into the affairs of the state. He annexed the principality of Wales to his crown, and was the first who gave the title of Prince of Wales to his eldest son. He then invaded Scotland, when John Baliol, the king, renewed his oath of fidelity, and put him in possession of the whole kingdom. But, while Edward was endeavouring to recover some dominions which he had lost in France, the brave William Wallace rose up in defence of his country, and, having dispossessed the English of all the fortified places, was declared regent. Edward then returned from France, advanced into Scotland at the head of a powerful army, and defeated Wallace, who, several years afterwards, was betrayed into the hands of the English, and sent to London, where that great hero suffered the death of a

traitor. Edward died in 1307, in the 69th year of his age, and the 35th of his reign, having ordered his heart to be sent to the Holy Land.

His son Edward II., who married Isabella, daughter to the French king, mounted the throne with great advantages, which he soon forfeited by his own imprudence. The battle of A. D. 1314. Bannockburne, between him and Robert Bruce, established the latter on the throne of Scotland. He raised to the summit of power the two Despensers, father and son, whom the parliament banished. The queen, an ambitious and worthless woman, who persuaded her husband to recall the favourites, at last became enamoured of Mortimer, earl of March. A breach between her and the Despensers soon followed; and, going over to France with her lover, she found means to form such a party in England, that, on her return with some French troops, she made her husband prisoner, and forced him to abdicate his crown in favour of his son Edward III., then fourteen years of age. The king's death completed her guilt. He was bar. A. D. 1327. barously murdered in Berkeley-castle, by ruffians who were employed by her and her paramour.

During the minority of Edward III., little domestic tranquillity was to be expected. When he assumed the reins of government, Mortimer was hanged at Tyburn, and the queen was confined for life. It was not long before the young king had a serious dispute with David, king of Scotland, though his sister was the wife of this prince. David was driven to France by the son of John Baliol, who did homage to Edward for Scotland.

In 1328, Charles the Fair, king of France, dying without male issue, Philip of Valois, his cousin, in consequence of the Salic law, which is supposed to exclude females, succeeded to the throne. He was opposed, however, by Edward, as being the son of Isabella, sister to the deceased king, and first in the female succession. The French rejected the claim of the English monarch, who, after long deliberation, resolved to assert it by arms. He invaded France in 1339; and, from that time to 1360, only occasional truces suspended the rage of hostility. In 1340, he took the title of king of France, which he used in all public acts, and quartered the arms of France with his own, adding this motto, *Dieu et mon droit*, "God and my right."

At Cressy, in 1346, the French, whose number exceeded 100,000, were defeated by 30,000 English, chiefly by the

valour of the prince of Wales, commonly called the *Black Prince*, from the dark hue of his armour. Above 35,000 of the French were slain, among whom were many of the principal nobility, twelve hundred knights, and fourteen hundred gentlemen; while the English lost only three knights, one esquire, and a small number of private men. On his return to the camp, Edward flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, who had distinguished himself in a remarkable manner. "My brave son!" cried he, "persevere in your honourable course. You are my son! for valiantly have you acquitted yourself to-day. You have shewn yourself worthy of empire."

A weak mind is elated with the smallest success; a great spirit is little affected by any turn of fortune. Edward, instead of expecting that the victory at Cressy would be immediately followed by the total subjection of the disputed kingdom, seemed rather to moderate his views. He prudently limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais, by which he hoped to secure an easy entrance into France.

The battle of Poitiers was fought in 1356, between prince Edward and John of France, in which the French were totally defeated, and their king taken prisoner. The captive monarch, after having received the most courteous and generous treatment from his conqueror, was conducted by him to England.

Edward having left his queen Philippa (daughter to the earl of Hainault) regent of England, she had the good fortune to defeat the Scots, who had invaded the kingdom soon after the battle of Cressy. David, their king, who had expelled Edward Baliol from the throne, was unable to effect his escape from the field; and thus two crowned heads were captives in London at the same time. Both kings were afterwards ransomed: but John returned to England, and died at the palace of the Savoy.

After the peace of Bretigni, into which Edward was frightened by a dreadful storm, his popularity declined. This was chiefly occasioned by his extravagant attachment to Alice Perrers, a young lady of wit and beauty, whose influence over him had given such general disgust, as to become the object of a parliamentary remonstrance. Meanwhile the prince of Wales died, leaving behind him a character adorned with every eminent virtue, and which would throw lustre on the most shining period of ancient or modern history. The king did not long survive this melancholy incident. He died

A. D. 1377. at Richmond in Surry, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign; one of the longest and most glorious in the English annals.

The domestic government of Edward was even more worthy of admiration than his foreign victories. By the prudence and vigour of his administration, England enjoyed a longer term of interior tranquillity than it had been blessed with in any former period, or than it experienced for some ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness. His affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence, and generosity, excited such emulation of regard for him, as made them successful in most military enterprises; and their unquiet spirits, directed against a public enemy, had no leisure to breed those private feuds to which they were naturally so much disposed. This internal tranquillity was the chief benefit that England derived from Edward's continental expeditions; and the miseries of the reign of his successor made the nation fully sensible of the value of the blessing.

Richard II., son of the Black Prince, succeeded to the throne of his grandfather at the age of eleven years. Though a council was chosen to administer the public affairs during the king's minority, the government of the kingdom was secretly directed by his three uncles, the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester; especially by the first, who was in reality the regent.

War had been carried on between France and England after the death of Edward III., but in so languid a manner as served only to exhaust the finances of both kingdoms. In order to repair the expenses of these fruitless armaments, the English parliament found it necessary to impose a poll-tax of three groats on every person, male and female, above fifteen years of age. The injustice of a tax to which all the poor, except mendicants, were obliged to contribute as much as the rich, was obvious to the meanest capacity, while the rigorous manner in which it was levied, made it yet more grievous. The discontent of the populace being thus prepared, the following incident kindled it into a flame. The tax-gatherers came to a smith's shop, in a village of Essex, and demanded payment for the man's daughter. The smith asserted that she was below the age assigned by the statute. One of the fellows seizing the maiden, and offering to produce a very indecent proof of the contrary, the father knocked out the ruffian's brains with his hammer. The by-

standers applauded the action, and, exclaiming that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their tyrants, immediately flew to arms. The flame in an instant spread over that and the neighbouring counties, and the populace, headed by the most audacious and criminal of their associates, who assumed the feigned names of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and Hob Carter, committed the most outrageous violence on such of the nobility and gentry as fell into their hands.

At length nearly one hundred thousand of them assembled on Blackheath, whence they made their way to London, where they continued their outrages. The king passing along Smithfield, very slenderly guarded, met Wat Tyler at the head of a large body of the rioters, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler, having ordered his companions to retire till he should give them the signal, ventured into the midst of the royal retinue; where he behaved himself in such a manner, that Walworth, the mayor of London, not able to bear his insolence, gave him a violent blow, which brought him to the ground, and he was instantly dispatched by the rest of the king's attendants. The mutineers, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves for revenge; and the king, with his whole company, would probably have perished on the spot, had it not been for an extraordinary presence of mind which Richard discovered on this occasion. Accosting the enraged multitude, with an affable and intrepid countenance, he asked them what was the meaning of their disorder? "Are you angry, my good people," added he, "that you have lost your leader? I, your king, will be your leader." The populace, overawed by his presence, implicitly followed him into the fields; and, a body of well-armed veterans having been secretly drawn together, they peaceably separated, upon his granting them a charter of redress for their grievances, which, however, was soon after annulled in parliament.

Had Richard been a prince of real abilities, he might now have established the tranquillity of his dominions on a sure foundation; but he delivered himself up to worthless favourites, particularly Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, whom he created marquis of Dublin, and duke of Ireland. This base subserviency soon produced an animosity between the minion and his creatures on the one hand, and the princes of the blood and chief nobility on the other, and brought on a continual scene of dissension between the king and

his people, which ended in the exile of the duke. Michael de la Pole, the son of an eminent merchant, had likewise acquired, in an eminent degree, the friendship of Richard, by whom he was appointed chancellor of the realm. The duke of Gloucester, perceiving the mischiefs which the impolitic conduct of his nephew might occasion, formed a party against him, when Richard ordered the duke to be seized, and conveyed to Calais, where he was privately strangled.

Richard was now upon the point of becoming more despotical than any king of England had ever been, when he lost his crown and life by a sudden catastrophe. John of Gaunt, or Ghent, duke of Lancaster, had a son named Henry, who, having a quarrel with the duke of Norfolk, was banished from the kingdom, as was also his opponent. Returning from exile, on pretence of claiming his ducal inheritance, he excited a rebellion against the unpopular king. Richard, who was then in Ireland, where an insurrection had broken out, hastened back to England; but, his troops refusing to fight, and his subjects in general deserting him, he A.D. 1399. was made prisoner, with no more than twenty attendants. Being conducted to London, he was deposed in full parliament, upon a formal charge of tyranny and misconduct, when the new duke of Lancaster was proclaimed king, by the name of Henry IV. With regard to Richard, it was long the prevailing opinion, that Sir Piers Exton, and others of his guards, fell upon him in the castle of Pontefract, where he was confined, and dispatched him with halberds. But it is more probable that he was starved to death in prison, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign, having no issue by either of his marriages.

CHAP. II.

RELIGION AND ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS. A.D. 1216—1399.

AS the power of the pope, and of the church, appears to have been at its greatest height in England during this period, it may not be improper to take a short view of this prodigious fabric of ecclesiastical tyranny, and of the deplorable oppressions under which our ancestors groaned in this superstitious age. Some of those oppressions are well expressed in a letter of complaint written to the pope by the king, prelates, and barons, of England, in 1246. In that

letter they complain, that the pope, not content with the annual payment of Peter-pence, exacted from the clergy great contributions, without the king's consent, and against the customs, rights, and liberties, of the realm of England; that the patrons of churches could not present fit persons to the vacant livings, as the pontiff generally conferred them on Italians, who understood not the English language, and carried out of the kingdom the money arising from their benefices; that he oppressed the churches, by exacting pensions from them; that in churches filled by Italians, there were neither alms nor hospitality; and that the care of souls, and the interests of true religion, were totally neglected. To these were added other grievances no less oppressive and intolerable. His holiness filled the highest dignities of the church by his own power, compelling the archbishops and others to pay exorbitant sums for their preferments. He evoked all causes of any importance to Rome, and kept the parties long waiting for his decision, at great expense; and large sums were annually sent to Rome, for pardons, indulgences, and dispensations.

The insatiable avarice and insupportable tyranny of the court of Rome gave such universal disgust in the fourteenth century, that a bold attack made on the authority of that court, and the doctrines of that church, was, at first, more successful than could have been expected in those dark ages. Dr. John Wickliffe, a secular priest, educated at Oxford, began, in the reign of Edward III., to spread the doctrines of reformation by his discourses, sermons, and writings; and many people of all ranks became his disciples. He was a man of parts, learning, and piety; and had the honour of being the first person in Europe who publicly called in question those doctrines which had passed for certain during so many ages. The doctrines of Wickliffe, being nearly the same with those which were propagated by the reformers in the sixteenth century, gave great alarm to the clergy, and a bull was issued by the pope for taking him into custody. Courtenay, bishop of London, cited him before his tribunal; but the reformer had now acquired powerful protectors, who screened him from danger. The duke of Lancaster and lord Percy, having encouraged the principles of Wickliffe, made no scruple to appear openly in court with him, in order to give him countenance upon his trial. They even insisted that Wickliffe should sit in the bishop's presence, while his doctrines were examined. Courtenay exclaimed against the in-

sult. The Londoners, thinking their prelate affronted, attacked the duke and his companion, who with some difficulty escaped from their hands. The duke continued to protect Wickliffe, during the minority of Richard; and the principles of that reformer were so much propagated, that, when the pope sent to Oxford a new bull against these doctrines, the university deliberated for some time whether they should receive it, and did not take any vigorous measures in consequence of the papal orders. Even the populace of London were, at last, brought to entertain favourable sentiments of this reformer. When he was cited before a synod at Lambeth, they forced their way into the assembly, and so overawed the prelates, that they dismissed him without any farther censure.

Wickliffe died of a paralytic disorder, at his rectory of A.D. 1384. Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, when the clergy, mortified that he should escape their vengeance, took care, besides assuring the people of his eternal damnation, to represent his last distemper as a visible judgement of Heaven upon him, for his multiplied heresies and impieties. His proselytes, however, still increased in England, and were distinguished by the name of Wickliffites, or Lollards. His principles were carried over to Bohemia by some young men of that nation, who studied at Oxford. But, though many were strongly disposed to receive them, affairs were not yet fully ripe for this great revolution, which was reserved for a more free and enquiring age.

CHAP. III.

GOVERNMENT AND LAWS. A. D. 1216—1399.

IN the long reign of Henry the Third, the disputes which arose between the king and the nobles rendered England a scene of confusion. The people, however, obtained a confirmation of the great charter, with the addition of new privileges. But the liberty of the subject made the greatest progress in the reign of Edward the First; a prince who, from his numerous and judicious laws, has been denominated the English Justinian. During the first thirteen years of his reign, the English laws received more improvement than in all the ages since his time. But what renders this æra particularly interesting is, that it affords the first instance of the

admission of the deputies of towns into parliament. In order to raise subsidies to support the wars in which he was engaged, he found himself obliged to employ a new method, and to endeavour to obtain, by the consent of the people, what his predecessors had hitherto expected from their own power. The sheriffs were ordered to invite the cities and boroughs of the different counties to send deputies to parliament; and it is from this æra that we are A.D. 1283. to date the origin of the house of commons. King Edward confirmed the great charter eleven times in the course of his reign. And, at length, he converted, into an established law, a privilege of which the English had hitherto only a precarious enjoyment, by decreeing that no tax should be laid, nor impost levied, without the joint consent of the lords and commons. This most important statute, in conjunction with Magna Charta, forms the basis of the English constitution. Under Edward the Second, the commons began to annex petitions to the bills by which they granted subsidies. This was the dawn of their legislative authority. Under Edward the Third, they declared that they would not in future acknowledge any law to which they had not expressly assented. Soon after this, they exerted a privilege in which consists, at this time, one of the great balances of the constitution: they impeached, and procured to be condemned, some of the chief ministers of state.

During the whole of this period, however, the government was at best only a barbarous monarchy, not regulated by any fixed maxims, nor limited by any certain undisputed rights, which in practice were regularly observed. The king conducted himself by one set of principles, the barons by another, the commons by a third, and the clergy by a fourth. All these systems of government were opposite and incompatible. Each of them prevailed in its turn, as incidents were favourable to it. A great prince rendered the monarchical power predominant. The weakness of a king gave the reins to the aristocracy. A superstitious age saw the clergy triumphant. The people, for whom chiefly *government* was instituted, and who chiefly *deserve consideration*, were the weakest of the whole. But though they sank under the violence of tempests, they silently reared their heads in more peaceable times; and, while the storm was gathering, were courted by all sides, and thus received a still greater accession to their privileges, or, at least, some confirmation of them.

CHAP. IV.

LITERATURE. A. D. 1216—1399.

THE supreme authority which Aristotle obtained in the schools of theology, as well as of philosophy, during this period, had a considerable influence both on learning and religion. The name and some parts of the writings of Aristotle were known in England, and other countries of Europe, long before this time. But he did not obtain that dictatorial authority among learned men, and in the most famous seats of learning, which he so long maintained, till the middle of the thirteenth century. About that time he began to be called the *philosopher*, by way of eminence. "He is preferred," says Roger Bacon, "before all other philosophers, in the opinion of all men of learning; whatever he has affirmed is received by them as true and sound philosophy; and, in a word, he has the same authority in philosophy that the apostle Paul has in divinity." To such an extravagant height was this veneration for Aristotle carried, before the middle of the fourteenth century, in some of the most famous universities, particularly in that of Paris, that students were obliged to take a *solemn oath* to defend his opinions. This blind submission could not but obstruct the progress of real knowledge, even if Aristotle's admirers had been generally capable of reading his works in their original language, and had not been compelled to receive them through the medium of false translations.

Divinity now soared above the scriptures. The schoolmen valued themselves on making improvements in theology, without recourse to either Testament; and those unfashionable sages, who still studied the sacred writings, were styled, in derision, *Bible doctors*. They were considered as men of little penetration or acuteness, had very few scholars, and were not allowed to have an apartment, or a servant to attend them, or even a stated hour for reading their lectures, in any of the famous universities of Europe.

Astronomy and optics were known to the illustrious Roger Bacon, but to few others. The same great man seems also to have monopolized the knowledge of mechanics and chemistry.

We may judge of the ignorance of this age in geography, from the following story. Pope Clement VI. having, in 1344, created Louis of Spain prince of the *Fortunate Islands*,

THE ARTS.

meaning the Canaries, then newly discovered, the English ambassador at Rome, and his retinue, were seized with an alarm that Louis had been created king of England. They accordingly hurried home, in order to convey this important intelligence.

Such, however, was the ardour for study at this time, that in the university of Oxford alone there were thirty thousand students. What then was the occupation of all these young men? To learn bad Latin, and worse logic. They disputed without end, and without meaning, perplexing the plainest truths, and giving plausible colours to the greatest absurdities. These frivolous disputes were conducted with so much eagerness, that from angry words the disputants sometimes proceeded to blows, and raised dangerous tumults in the seats of learning.

CHAP. V.

THE ARTS. A. D. 1216—1399.

IN the period which we are now examining, very little progress was made in agriculture. The country was almost constantly involved in war, which diverted the attention of the people, and particularly of the nobility, from the improvement of their lands. The wretched tenure, likewise, by which the inferior farmers held their possessions, was an effectual bar to every amendment of soil. Gardening, under the immediate protection of the great, had better success. Every large castle or monastery had its garden, orchard, and frequently its vineyard. The English, at this time, had a considerable quantity of wine of their own manufacture; not much inferior to foreign wine.

With regard to architecture, some of the most admired cathedrals in England, viz. those of York, Salisbury, and Winchester, owe their existence to this period, which is generally allowed to have produced the truest and fairest models of what is called the "*lighter Gothic style of building*." The steeples with spires and pinnacles, the pillars formed of an assemblage of columns, the lofty windows sometimes towering to a point, sometimes much enlarged, divided into several lights by stone mullions, and always filled with glass stained with lively colours, to represent the stories of saints and martyrs, stamp the sacred edifices of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

This rapid progress in architectural elegance was greatly assisted by a band of ingenious workmen of various countries, who, forming themselves into societies under the title of "*Free Masons*," offered their services to opulent princes, and were much attached to the bountiful Henry, and to his illustrious successor.

The ardour of our English reformers, and the party-zeal of civil wars, have left us few perfect memorials of the state of sculpture, in the early ages. Father Montfaucon says, that the art was greatly improved during the thirteenth century, and Matthew Paris mentions a monk, his contemporary, as an admirable statuary.

So great and general was the taste for painting in this period, that not only the apartments of the great, but those of private persons, were ornamented with historical pictures. When Chaucer awoke from his celebrated poetical dream, the gay objects, which his fancy had presented, had vanished, and he saw nothing,

"Save on the wals old pourtrayture
"Of horsmen, haukes, and houndis
"And hart dire, al ful of woundis."

This, we may believe, is a real description of his own bed-chamber.

Though the poets of this period were as much admired by their contemporaries, as those who flourished in better times, their works are now generally neglected. This is chiefly owing to the antiquated style in which they wrote. The English language, though nervous, was then harsh, frowned on by the court, despised by the gentry, and disguised by a barbarous and irregular mode of spelling.

Several other musical instruments, besides the *harp*, were now used by the minstrels. In the band of Edward III. we find five trumpeters, a cyteler, five pipers, a fidler, a tabret, a mabrer, two clarions, and three hautboys.

CHAP. VI.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES. A. D. 1216—1399.

MATTHEW Paris, a Benedictine monk, was an ingenious poet, orator, and historian. He is chiefly known by an universal history from the creation of the world to the year 1259. His account of the reign of Henry III. is ap-

parently very authentic. With that prince he was familiarly acquainted; yet he had not the meanness to flatter him, or to violate the truth of history.

Roger Bacon, a learned monk of the Franciscan order, was descended of an ancient family, and born near Ilchester, in Somersetshire, in 1214. He applied himself with astonishing ardour to the acquisition of knowledge, both at Oxford and Paris; and his attainments were so uncommon, that the populace looked upon him as a magician. By the contrivance of his own fraternity, who were jealous of his superior abilities, he was prohibited from reading lectures to the students, and afterwards imprisoned. His fame, however, reached the ears of pope Clement IV., who requested that he would send him a copy of his works. This collection is now extant under the title of "*Opus Majus*," or his Great Work. After remaining in prison for ten years, he obtained his liberty, and returned to Oxford, where he died in 1294.

This wonderful man had a profound knowledge of the mathematics and natural philosophy. He discovered the error in the calendar; and his plan for correcting it was adopted by Gregory XIII. He gave such a description of the composition of gunpowder, that it is evident he was the original inventor of it. His acquaintance with chemistry was extensive. He also described the camera obscura, and those kinds of glasses which magnify or lessen objects. In short, the character which Dr. Freind gives of him is not too great, "that he was the miracle of the age in which he lived, and the greatest genius, perhaps, for mechanical knowledge that ever appeared in the world since Archimedes."

Matthew of Westminster, a monk of the fourteenth century, was remarkable for that strict attention to veracity, which his *Flowers of Histories* (*Flores Historiarum*) display.

John Duns Scotus, of Northumberland, a celebrated theologian of the Franciscan order, distinguished himself by the acuteness of his parts. Several thousand persons attended his lectures at Oxford. "He described the Supreme Being," says one of his disciples, "as if he had seen God; the attributes of celestial spirits, as if he had been an angel; and the felicities of a future state, as if he had enjoyed them." He died in 1308.

Anthony Beck, bishop of Durham, who died in 1310, merits notice for the singularity of his character. He led the

van of the first Edward's army against the Scots, and dared even to make a harsh retort to a reproof from that stern monarch. At Rome, he opposed alone a number of ruffians, who had forcibly entered his house. So active was his mind, that he always rose immediately after his first sleep; saying, "*that it was beneath a man to turn himself in bed.*" As he loved military parade, he had knights and soldiers always about him. Vanity prompted him to spend immense sums. He once gave 40*l.* sterling for forty fresh herrings; and he ordered to be cut, into horse-cloths, a piece of cloth, which had been proverbially said to be "*too dear for the bishop of Durham.*"

Sir John Mandeville, celebrated for his distant travels and credulity, was born at St. Alban's, and died in 1372. He began his travels in 1322, and continued them during thirty-four years through a great part of the world. He left, at his death, an "*Itinerary,*" or account of his travels, in English, French, and Latin.

Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of English poetry, was born in London, in 1328, and educated at both universities. After visiting several foreign countries for his improvement, he became a student of the law in the Middle Temple. But this study not being agreeable to his taste, he resolved to try his fortune at court, for which he was well qualified, being remarkably handsome in his person, elegant in his manners, a general scholar, and an admired poet. He accordingly obtained the honourable place of page to Edward III., in 1359, when that illustrious prince was in the summit of his prosperity, and the English court in its highest splendour. In this station he rendered himself so agreeable to his royal master, that he obtained many substantial marks of his favour, and enjoyed an income of no less than 1000*l.* a year, equivalent to 12,000*l.* at present. In this flourishing state of his affairs, he married Philippa Rouet, sister to lady Swynford, afterwards the wife of John, duke of Lancaster. This nobleman having espoused the cause of Wickliffe from political views, Chaucer engaged with warmth, and from principle, in the same cause. In order to avoid the resentment of the clergy, he was obliged to go abroad, where he spent his whole estate in supporting himself and his fellow-exiles. He then returned privately into England, but was apprehended and committed to prison, from which he was not released, before he had disclosed the secrets of his party. Retiring to Woodstock, he employed himself in the correc-

tion of his former pieces, and in the composition of new works. By the exertions of his friends, who recovered their influence at court, he obtained several grants from the crown, which enabled him to spend the last years of his life in ease and plenty. He died in 1400, leaving two sons, one of whom was speaker of the house of commons, and ambassador to France. Of his poems, the *Canterbury Tales* are by far the best. There have been several editions of his works.

Sir John Gower, an eminent lawyer and poet, the contemporary and intimate friend of Chaucer, whom he succeeded in the laurel, was descended from an ancient family, and born in 1320. In his character as a lawyer, he made so considerable a figure, that he was appointed chief justice of the Common Pleas. His principal production, as a poet, is *Confessio Amantis*. He appears to have been fond of writing, and laments in a very pathetic strain, that, by the failure of his sight, he was constrained to lay aside his pen. He died in 1402.

CHAP. VII.

MANUFACTURES, COMMERCE, AND INTERNAL POLICE.
A.D. 1216—1399.

THE chief manufacture of England, in the æra of which we now treat, was that of wool. This she owed to the fostering hand of Edward III., who gave encouragement to foreign weavers, and enacted a law which prohibited every one from wearing any cloth but of English fabric. The manufactures of leather and lead were also very considerable.

The greatest part of our domestic trade was still transacted in fairs, of which some were of long duration, frequented by a great number of people from different countries, and stored with commodities of all kinds.

The fair of St. Giles's-hill, near Winchester, continued sixteen days, during which time all trade was prohibited in Winchester, Southampton, and every place within seven miles of the fair, which very much resembled a great city, inhabited by foreign and domestic traders, who exposed their various commodities to sale. We are assured by a contemporary writer of undoubted credit, that male and female slaves were publicly sold in the fairs of England, near the conclusion of the fourteenth century.

In the beginning of the reign of Richard II. the parliament complained of the decay of foreign commerce, during the preceding reign, and asserted, that one sea-port formerly contained more vessels than were then to be found in the whole kingdom. This calamity they ascribed to the arbitrary seizure of ships by Edward, for the service of his frequent expeditions.

With regard to the coin, the third Edward, in 1344, struck florins of gold, which were ordered to pass for six shillings, and the halves and quarters in proportion. Finding, however, that he had rated these pieces too high, he coined the gold noble of 6s. 8d., and recalled the florins to his treasury.

The police of the kingdom was certainly much improved during this period, particularly in the time of the renowned Edward. Yet there were several faults in the constitution, the bad consequences of which, all the power and vigilance of the king could never prevent. The barons, by their confederacies with those of their own order, and by supporting their retainers in every iniquity, were the chief abettors of robbers, murderers, and ruffians of all kinds; and no law could be executed against those criminals. The nobility were brought to give their promise in parliament, that they would not countenance any felon or violator of the law: yet this engagement, which we may wonder to see exacted from men of their rank, was never regarded by them. The commons made continual complaints of the multitude of robberies, murders, rapes, and other disorders, in every part of the kingdom, which they always ascribed to the protection that the criminals received from the great. The king of Cyprus, who paid a visit to England in the reign of Edward III., was robbed and stripped on the highway, with his whole retinue. Edward himself contributed to this dissolution of law, by his facility in granting pardons to felons from the solicitation of courtiers. Laws were made to prevent this prerogative, and remonstrances of the commons were presented against the abuse of it. But a wish to gratify a powerful nobleman continued to be more operative than the desire of protecting the people.

CHAP. VIII.

MANNERS. A. D. 1216—1399.

AN almost unlimited hospitality reigned in the palaces of princes, and the castles of great barons, in the times which we are now delineating. The courts of some of the kings of England were splendid and numerous, to a degree hardly credible. That of Richard II. is thus described by Stowe. "His royalty was such, that, wheresoever he lay, his person was guarded by two hundred Cheshiremen; he had about him thirteen bishops, besides barons, knights, esquires, and others; insomuch that ten thousand people came to the household for meat every day, as appeared by the messes told out of the kitchen to three hundred servitors." We may form some idea of the magnificence and hospitality of the opulent barons of those times, from an account of the household expenses of the earl of Lancaster in 1313; from which it appears that this nobleman expended in house-keeping, during that year, no less than 7,309*l.*, more than equal to 87,700*l.* of our present money. The consumption of wine alone was 371 pipes. The nobility in general spent almost all their revenues in hospitality at their castles in the country, which were ever open to respectable strangers, as well as to their own vassals and followers. This profuse way of living began to decline a little towards the conclusion of this period; and some barons, instead of dining always in the great hall with their numerous dependents, according to ancient custom, dined sometimes in private parlours, with their own families and friends. But this innovation was very unpopular, and subjected those who adopted it to acrimonious reproach.

A splendid ostentatious kind of gallantry, expressive of the most profound respect and the highest admiration of the beauty and virtue of the ladies, was studied and practised by the martial barons, knights, and esquires, of this period. This gallantry appeared in its greatest lustre at royal tournaments, and other grand and solemn festivals, at which the ladies shone in their brightest ornaments, and received peculiar honours. When Edward III., in 1344, celebrated the magnificent feast of the round table, at Windsor, to which all the nobility of his own dominions, and of the neighbouring countries, had been invited, queen Philippa, and three hundred ladies, illustrious for their birth and beauty, uni-

formly dressed in the richest habits, adorned that solemnity, and were treated with the most pompous and romantic testimonies of respect and admiration. Many of the most magnificent tournaments of those times were the effects of this kind of gallantry, and designed for the honour and entertainment of the ladies, who appeared at these solemnities in vast numbers, and from different countries. Sometimes a few brave and gallant knights published a proclamation in their own and several other countries, asserting the superior beauty and virtue of the ladies whom they loved, and challenging all who dared to dispute that superiority, to meet them at a certain time and place to determine the important controversy by combat. These challenges were constantly accepted, and produced tournaments, to which princes, knights, and ladies, of different nations, crowded. This romantic gallantry displayed itself in times of war as well as peace, and youthful knights fought as much for the honour of their mistresses as of their country. A party of English and a party of French cavalry met near Cherbourg in 1379, and immediately prepared for battle. When they were on the point of engaging, Sir Lancelot de Lorres, a French knight, cried aloud, that he had a more beautiful mistress than any of the English. This was denied by Sir John Copeland, who ran the Frenchman through the body with his spear, and laid him dead at his feet. When Edward III. raised a great army to assert his claim to the crown of France, a considerable number of young English gentlemen put, each of them, a patch upon one eye, making a solemn vow to his mistress, that he would not take it off till he had performed some notable exploit in France to her honour.*

Chivalry had declined in England during the inglorious reigns of John and Henry III.; but it revived under the sway of Edward I. That prince was one of the most accomplished knights of the age in which he flourished, and delighted in feats of chivalry. It is a sufficient proof of this, that, when he was on his return from the Holy Land, after his father's death, and knew that his presence was ardently desired in England, he accepted an invitation to a tournament, at Chalons in Burgundy. At that famous tournament, which terminated in a real battle, he displayed his valour and dexterity to a great advantage, and gained a complete

* Dr. Henry's History of Great-Britain.

victory. Edward III. was no less fond of chivalry, and encouraged it both by his example and munificence. In this he was influenced by policy as well as inclination. Having formed the design of asserting his claim to the crown of France, he laboured to animate his own subjects with an enterprising spirit, and to allure as many valiant foreigners as possible into his service. With this view he celebrated several pompous tournaments, to which he invited all strangers who delighted in feats of arms, entertained them with the greatest hospitality, and loaded such of them as excelled in these martial sports with honours and rewards, in order to attach them to his person, and engage them to fight in his cause. With the same view, and about the same time, he founded the most honourable order of the Garter, of which his own heroic son, the Black Prince, was the first knight; and all the first companions were persons famous for their victories at tournaments, and in real wars.

The varied and ridiculous modes of dress which this period produced, were very justly the subject of bitter reprehension from the satirists of the time. What could exhibit a more fantastical appearance than an English beau of the fourteenth century? He wore long pointed shoes, fastened to his knees by gold or silver chains; a stocking of one colour on one leg, and of another colour on the other; short breeches which did not reach to the middle of his thighs; a coat, one half white, the other half black or blue; a long beard; a silk hood buttoned under his chin, embroidered with grotesque figures of animals, and sometimes ornamented with gold, silver, and precious stones. This dress was the height of the mode in the reign of Edward III. The fashionable females are thus described by Knyghton: "The tournaments are attended by many ladies of the first rank and greatest beauty, dressed in party-coloured tunics. Their tippets are very short, their caps remarkably small, and wrapped about their heads with cords; their girdles and pouches are ornamented with gold and silver; and they wear short swords, like daggers, before them, which hang across their stomachs. They are mounted on the finest horses, with the richest furniture; thus equipped, they ride from place to place in quest of tournaments, by which they dissipate their fortunes, and often ruin their reputation."

The passion for feasting increased so much in England during the fourteenth century, that a severe law was enacted by Edward III., to restrict certain ranks to proportionable

banquets. His example, however, did not tend to enforce it; for, at the nuptial entertainment of his son Lionel, there were thirty courses, and the fragments of the table fed one thousand persons.

When we speak of the luxuries of our ancestors, we must not forget *the wines*. This expression denoted a collation taken by the great and elegant just before they went to bed, which consisted of spiced liquors and delicate cakes. The wines were sometimes given immediately after dinner, and on the ceremonious visits of fashionable people at any hour.

In the course of the fourteenth century, the Anglo-Saxon gradually changed into what may be called the English language, and forced its way into the courts of justice, from which it had been excluded almost 300 years. That animosity was now extinguished which had long subsisted between the posterity of the Normans and of the Anglo-Saxons, who were now consolidated into one people. The Normans, who were engaged in agriculture, trade, and manufactures, found it necessary to speak the language of the multitude, into which they introduced many French words and idioms. Besides this, Chaucer, Gower, and several others, composed a number of volumes in English; and, being men of learning, borrowed many expressions from the Greek, Latin, Italian, and French, languages, with which they enriched their own. But the mode of spelling was unsettled, and very different from the modern. Several words were then in common use which are now become obsolete; and many bore a very different meaning from their present import. A knave, for example, signified a servant, in opposition to a freeman, and sometimes a male, in opposition to a female: "*The time is come*," says Chaucer, "*and a knave child she bare*." Its modern meaning is well known.

CHAP. IX.

INCIDENTS AND CURIOUS PARTICULARS. A. D. 1216—1399.

IN 1236, at Merton in Surry, the lay-nobility made the celebrated declaration, "We will not suffer the laws of England to be altered." The pope had endeavoured to introduce a constitution of the canon law, which legitimates, on the marriage of the parents, all children born of those

parents before such marriage. But here the laity triumphed over the clergy.

In 1251, a bard, styled *Master Henry the Versifier*, had one hundred shillings allowed him as a fee of office. He is thus described, in a sharp satire, by a humorous Cornish poet, whom he offended by reflections on his country.

"The thigh of a sparrow, the feet of a goat,
"Hare-lips and boar's fangs, thee a monster denote;
"Thou canst whine like a whelp, like a bull thou canst roar,
"Thou art foul as a witch, and as black as a Moor.
"Thus peerless appearing, believe me thy songster,
"Thy grimly grimaces demonstrate a monster."

In 1276, it was enacted, that no ship should be deemed a wreck, out of which a *man*, a *dog*, or a *cat*, had escaped with life.

In 1283, say the annals of Dunstable, "we sold our slave by birth, William Pike, with all his family, and received one mark from the buyer." Men must then have been cheaper than horses.

In 1302, the mariner's compass was invented by Gioia of Naples.

In 1316, on account of a great famine, the parliament fixed the price of provisions. An ox cost two pounds eight shillings; a fat hog, ten shillings; a sheep, three shillings and six pence; a fat goose, seven pence halfpenny; a fat capon, six pence; a fat hen, three pence; two chickens, three pence; four pigeons, three pence; two dozen eggs, three pence. The rates affixed by parliament were inferior to the usual market-prices, in those years of famine and mortality of cattle; and these commodities, instead of a third, had really risen to a half, of the present value. But the scarcity at that time was so great, that wheat was sometimes sold for above four pounds ten shillings a quarter;—a certain proof of the wretched state of agriculture in those ages.

In 1340, gunpowder and guns were first invented by Schwartz, a monk of Cologne. Bombs and mortars were also invented about this time.

In the same year, a remarkable naval engagement occurred near Sluys. It is said, that the English had only 260 vessels against 400 French ships, above 200 of which were captured by our gallant ancestors; and that 30,000 men lost their lives in the two fleets, only a seventh part of that number falling on the side of the victors.

In 1349, Edward III. instituted the order of the Garter, in imitation of some others of a similar nature, which had been established in different parts of Europe. A story prevails, but unsupported by ancient authority, that the countess of Salisbury, at a ball, happening to drop her garter, the king took it up, and, seeing some of his courtiers smile, cried out, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*, Evil to him that evil thinks." He then instituted the order, in memorial of this event, and gave that exclamation as the motto.

The magnificent castle of Windsor was built by the same monarch; and his method of conducting the work may serve as a specimen of the condition of the people in that age. Instead of engaging workmen by contracts and wages, he assessed every county in England to send him a certain number of masons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had been levying an army.

The greatest novelty introduced into the civil government, during the reign of Richard II., was the creation of peers by patent. Lord Beauchamp of Holt was the first person advanced to the house of lords in this manner.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY FROM THE USURPATION OF HENRY IV., IN 1399, TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VII., IN 1485.

HENRY IV. being settled on the throne of England, in prejudice to the earl of March, who sprang from an elder branch of his family, several of the principal nobility entered into a conspiracy against him; but the insurrection was easily quelled. A revolt in Wales soon followed. Owen Glendour (a descendant of the ancient princes of that country) having become obnoxious on account of his attachment to the late king, lord Grey, who was closely connected with Henry, and had a great fortune in the marches of Wales, availed himself of this circumstance to seize his neighbour's estate. Glendour recovered possession by the sword. Henry sent assistance to Grey, while the Welsh

took part with Owen; and a troublesome and tedious war was kindled, which the Welsh chieftain long sustained by his valour and activity.

The confusions incident to the times tempted the Scots to make incursions into England. Archibald, earl Douglas, on his return from one of these irruptions, was overtaken by the Percies at Homeldon; and a fierce battle ensued, wherein the Scots were totally routed, and Douglas himself, with many others of the nobility and gentry, fell into the hands of the victors. When Henry received intelligence of this success, he sent a message to the earl of Northumberland not to ransom his prisoners, as he intended to detain them, in order to make an advantageous peace with Scotland. But the earl regarding them as his right, according to the laws of war in that age, this demand gave great disgust to him, more especially when he considered himself as the principal person to whom Henry was indebted for his crown.

The impatient spirit of his son, Henry Percy, surnamed *Hotspur*, inflamed the earl's discontent; and his brother, the earl of Worcester, encouraged him to attempt the dethronement of the perfidious usurper. He entered into a correspondence with Glendour, gave liberty to earl Douglas, with whom he made an alliance, and roused up all his partisans to arms. Percy took the command of the troops, and marched towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendour. The A.D. 1403. king had, fortunately, a small army on foot, with which he instantly hurried away, and approached Percy near Shrewsbury, before he was joined by the Welsh chieftain. The policy of one leader, and the impatience of the other, immediately brought on a battle.

The armies were nearly equal in number, consisting of about 12,000 men each; and we scarcely find any battle in those ages, where the shock was more terrible or more constant. Henry coolly exposed his person to all the dangers of the field. His gallant son, the prince of Wales, whose military achievements were afterwards so renowned, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, signalized himself in his father's footsteps; and even a wound, which he had received in the face with an arrow, could not oblige him to retire. On the other side, Percy supported that fame which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas still appeared his rival, amidst the horror and confusion of the day. But, while the armies were contending in this

furious manner, the death of Percy, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the royalists prevailed.

The earl of Northumberland had levied a fresh army, and was on his march to join his son; but, hearing of the defeat at Shrewsbury, he dismissed his forces, and came with a small retinue to the king at York. He pretended, that his sole intention in arming was to mediate between the parties. This seemed to satisfy Henry, who granted him a pardon. Not being able, however, to repress his enmity towards the king, the earl afterwards joined in rebellion with several others, and at length lost his life in the cause.

Henry being freed, by the death of the earl of Northumberland, and by that of Glendour, which happened soon after, from all his domestic enemies, endeavoured to regain the popularity which he had lost by his late severities. The house of commons, on this occasion, became sensible of their own importance, and began to assume powers which had not usually been exercised by their predecessors. Among other advances of this kind, in the sixth year of Henry's reign, when they voted him supplies, they appointed *treasurers of their own*, to see that the money should be disbursed for the purposes intended.

Henry died at Westminster, in the 47th year of his age, and the 14th of his reign, with the reputation of a wise prince, rather than that of a good man. His son, Henry V., succeeded to the throne in 1413. The precarious situation of the late usurper had so much infected his temper with jealousy, that he entertained unreasonable suspicions, with regard to the fidelity of his eldest son, and excluded him from all share in public business. The active spirit of young Henry, restrained from its proper exercise, broke out into extravagances of riot and debauchery, which threw him among companions totally unworthy of his rank and station. When heated with liquor and jollity, he scrupled not to accompany his riotous associates in attacking persons in the streets and highways. One of his dissolute companions having been indicted before Sir William Gascoigne, the chief justice, Henry was not ashamed to appear at the bar with the criminal, in order to give him countenance and protection. Finding that his presence did not overawe the chief justice, he proceeded to insult him on his tribunal. But Gascoigne, mindful of the character he then bore, ordered the prince to be imprisoned for his rude behaviour, to which Henry, with a feeling worthy of his better moments, peace-

ably submitted. The nation in general considered the young prince with more indulgence than his father; and observed so many gleams of generosity, spirit, and magnanimity, breaking through his wildness, that they never ceased hoping for his amendment.

The first measures of the young king confirmed those prepossessions in his favour. He immediately dismissed the companions of his dissolute courses, and received the wise ministers of his father, who had checked his riots, with all the marks of favour and confidence. The chief justice himself, who trembled to approach the royal presence, met with praises instead of reproaches for his past conduct.

As it was the dying request of the late king to his son, not to allow the English to remain long in peace, which was apt to breed intestine commotions, he determined to take advantage of the confusion which reigned in France, through the contentions of the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, each of whom aspired to the administration of affairs; Charles VI., by sudden fits of phrensy, being rendered incapable of conducting the government. Henry accordingly assembled a large fleet and army at Southampton, in order to invade that kingdom, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of 6000 men at arms, and 24,000 foot, mostly archers. A. D. 1415. He immediately laid siege to that town, and took it in defiance of all opposition.

The fatigues of the siege, and the unusual heat of the season, had so wasted the English army, that Henry was not inclined to undertake any other enterprise, and was obliged to think of returning to England. But, as he had dismissed his transports, he was under the necessity of marching by land to Calais. While he was pursuing this route, continually harassed by the enemy, his provisions cut off, and his soldiers languishing with sickness and fatigue, he was surprised to observe the whole French army, consisting of six times the number of his diminished force, under the command of the constable D'Albret, drawn up on the plains of Agincourt. Henry's situation was now exactly similar to that of Edward III. at Cressy, and that of the Black Prince at Poitiers; and the memory of those great events inspired the English with courage, and induced them to hope for a like deliverance from their present difficulties.

Henry drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, to cover each flank, and patiently expected an attack. Had the French general declined a combat, the

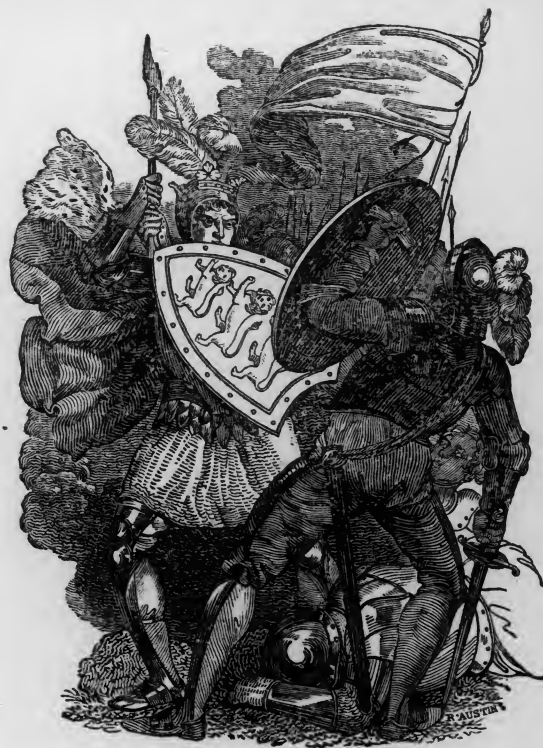
English must have relinquished the advantages of their situation ; but the impetuous valour of the nobility, and a vain confidence in superior numbers, brought on an action, which proved, to the English, glorious and successful.

After the battle was ended, during which the king was furiously assaulted by the duke of Alençon, whom his attendants put to death, the peasants fell upon the baggage, and put some of the unarmed followers of the camp to the sword. Henry, seeing the enemy on all sides of him, began to entertain apprehensions from his prisoners, the number of whom exceeded that of his whole army ; and he thought it necessary to issue general orders for putting them to death. But, on discovering the truth, he stopped the slaughter, and saved many of them. In this conflict, the number of the slain, on the part of the enemy, amounted to 9,000, and 13,000 were made prisoners, while the loss of the English did not exceed 500.

During an interruption of hostilities from England, France was still exposed to all the furies of a civil war ; in the course of which, the duke of Orleans was assassinated by the duke of Burgundy ; and he, in his turn, fell by the treachery of the dauphin. In a state so ill-prepared to resist a foreign enemy, Henry landed in Normandy, at A. D. 1418.

the head of 25,000 men ; and, after reducing several places, even threatened Paris, from which the terror of his arms had obliged the court to remove to Troyes. In the midst of these successes, he was agreeably surprised to find his enemies, instead of combining against him, severally disposed to rush into his arms, and to make him the instrument of their vengeance on each other. The imbecility of the French king rendering him passive in every thing, a treaty was concluded, importing, that Henry should espouse the princess Catharine ; that Charles, during his life-time, should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France ; that Henry should be acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be intrusted with the present administration of the government ; and that the kingdom should pass to his heirs general.

In a few days after signing the treaty of Troyes, Henry espoused Catharine, and took possession of Paris. He then turned his arms, with success, against the dauphin, who assumed the style and authority of regent. And, to crown his good fortune, his queen was delivered of a son, who seemed to be universally regarded as the future heir of both monarchies. But the glory of the king, when it had nearly



HENRY V. ENGAGING THE DUKE OF ALENÇON, AT
THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

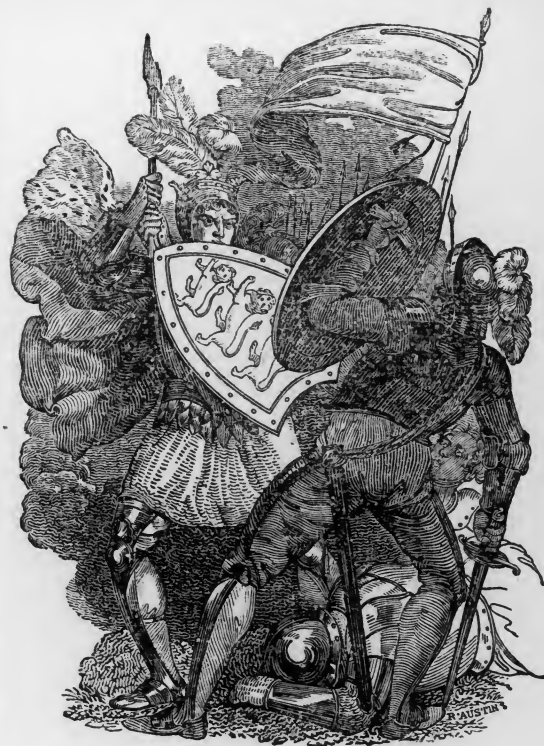
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reached the summit, was stopped short by the hand of nature. He was seized with a fistula, a malady which the surgeons at that time had not skill enough to cure, and died in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign. A. D. 1422.

The abilities of this prince appeared equally in the cabinet and in the field. The boldness of his enterprises was no less remarkable than his personal valour in conducting them. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. The English, dazzled by the lustre of his character, still more than by that of his victories, were reconciled to the defects in his title, and the French almost forgot that he was an enemy. He left an infant son, who succeeded to the throne. Catharine, soon after his death, married Sir Owen Tudor, by whom she had two sons, the earls of Richmond and Pembroke. The family of Tudor, first raised to distinction by this alliance, mounted afterwards the throne of England.

The affairs of government were conducted by young Henry's two uncles, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, men of great courage and accomplishments, but who were unable to preserve their brother's conquests. On the death of Charles VI., while a strong party supported the pretensions of the English prince, the majority of the French were disposed to submit to the legitimate heir of the monarchy. The war was, therefore, renewed with spirit. The duke of Bedford, acting as regent of France, met with considerable success, and at last laid siege to Orleans, the capture of which would have completed the conquest of France. The siege, however, was raised by the valour and good conduct of Joan d'Arc, the *Maid of Orleans*, a phenomenon hardly to be paralleled in history. She was servant at a small inn, and in that station had been accustomed to attend the horses of the guests, and to perform those offices which fall to the share of the men-servants. She was of an irreproachable life, and had never given any proofs of that enterprising spirit which afterwards rendered her name so famous. The distressed situation of France excited the feelings of every rank; and Joan, inflamed by the general sentiment, was seized with a wild desire of bringing relief to her sovereign in his present distresses. Her mind being continually employed on this object, she fancied that she saw visions, and heard voices, exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France, and to expel the foreign invaders. Thinking her-

self destined by Heaven to this office, she went to Vaucouleurs, and, having obtained admission to the governor, informed him of her inspirations and intentions. Though the governor treated her at first with some neglect, he at last adopted her schemes, and gave her some attendants to conduct her to Chinon, where the French court then resided.

Being introduced to the king, she offered, in the name of the Supreme Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims to be crowned. An assembly of grave doctors examined her mission, and she was interrogated by the parliament, who were all convinced of her inspiration. Joan was now completely armed, mounted on horseback, and shown in that martial habiliment to the people. She was then sent to Blois, where a large convoy was prepared for the supply of Orleans; and, having ordered all the soldiers to confess themselves before they set out on their enterprise, she put herself at the head of the army, with a consecrated banner in her hand, and safely escorted the supply to the city. The French now believed themselves invincible under her influence, while a dead silence and astonishment reigned among those warriors who were formerly so elate with victory. The spirit, resulting from success, was on a sudden transferred from the victors to the vanquished. The siege

A. D. 1429. of Orleans was soon raised; and the French, allowing the English no leisure to recover from their consternation, pushed on their conquests, till Charles was crowned at Rheims, as the *Maid* had foretold. During the ceremony, she stood by the king's side, holding in her hand the sacred banner. After the coronation she wished to retire to her native place; but the French general being sensible of the advantages which might still be reaped from her presence, she was prevailed on to stay. The town of Compeigne being at that time besieged by the duke of Burgundy, she threw herself into the place, and, in making a sally, was taken by the English. The duke of Bedford, intent upon her ruin, ordered her to be tried by an ecclesiastical court, for idolatry and magic. She was found guilty by her ignorant or iniquitous judges; and this admirable heroine was cruelly delivered over to the flames, for having rendered signal services to her sovereign and country.

The affairs of the English, however, instead of being advanced by this act of cruelty, went every day more and more to decay. Even the great abilities of the regent could not stop the torrent of ill success; till, at length, his death

put a concluding stroke to the triumph of the English; and, after some years, they had nothing left of their conquests but the town of Calais.

In proportion as Henry VI. advanced in years, his character became fully known to the court. Of the most inoffensive and simple manners, but of the most slender capacity, he was fitted to be governed by those who surrounded him; and it was easy to foresee that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. When he had reached the age of manhood, it was natural to think of choosing a queen for him; and the leaders of the two contending factions equally wished to recommend one to his acceptance, as it was probable that this circumstance would secure the perpetual triumph of the party. The cardinal of Winchester proved successful; and Henry was contracted to Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, descended from a count of Anjou, who had left these magnificent titles to his posterity, without any real power or possessions. The treaty of marriage was ratified in England; and Margaret, on her arrival, formed a close connection with the cardinal and his party, who, fortified by her powerful patronage, resolved on the final ruin of the duke of Gloucester.

This generous prince had already received from his rivals a cruel mortification. His duchess, the daughter of lord Cobham, had been accused of witchcraft. It was pretended that she had a waxen figure of the king, which she and her associates melted in a magical manner before a slow fire, with an intention of making his strength waste away by the like insensible degrees. The nature of this crime, as the philosophic Hume ingeniously observes, so opposite to all common sense, seems always to exempt the accusers from observing the rules of common sense in their evidence. The prisoners being pronounced guilty, the duchess was condemned to do public penance, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment; and her supposed accomplices were executed. But the people, contrary to their usual practice on such marvellous trials, acquitted the unhappy sufferers, and ascribed these violent proceedings solely to the malice of the duke's enemies. The cardinal of Winchester and his party, therefore, became sensible that it was necessary to destroy a man whose popularity made him dangerous, and whose resentment they had so much cause to apprehend. Being accused of treason, and imprisoned, he was soon after found dead in

his bed; and, though his body bore no marks of outward violence, it was concluded that he had fallen a victim to the vindictive barbarity of the courtiers. His murder excited general abhorrence, and laid a foundation for the troubles that ensued.

The discontent of the people broke out in various commotions, which were soon suppressed; but there arose one in Kent, which was attended with more dangerous consequences. John Cade, a native of Ireland, whose crimes had obliged him to retire into France, assumed the name of Mortimer, and, at the head of 20,000 Kentish men, encamped on Blackheath, in his way to the capital, in order to obtain a redress of grievances. The city opened its gates to Cade, who for some time maintained great order and discipline among his followers; but, at length, when he could not prevent them from committing depredations and outrages, the citizens, assisted by a detachment of soldiers from the Tower, repulsed the rebels with great slaughter. The insurgents were so discouraged at this blow, that, upon receiving a general pardon, they retreated towards Rochester, and there dispersed. This pardon was soon after annulled; and, a price being set on Cade's head, he was killed by a gentleman of Sussex, and many of his followers were capitally punished for their rebellion.

Richard, duke of York, who had succeeded to the pretensions of the earl of March, the descendant of the third Edward's son Lionel, duke of Clarence, was suspected of having secretly instigated Cade to this attempt: but he was averse to violent measures, and, even when no visible object lay between him and the throne, he was prevented by his own scruples from mounting it. The king, however, being seized with a distemper, which so far increased his natural imbecility as to render him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty, the duke was appointed lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a parliament.

His forbearance, upon this occasion, though very amiable and unusual, proved the source of all those furious wars and commotions which ensued; for no sooner had Henry recovered, so as to carry the appearance of exercising the royal power, than his queen, a woman of a bold spirit and manly understanding, advised him to annul the protectorship, and place the administration in the hands of the duke of Somerset, who was obnoxious to the people. Richard

having levied an army, without advancing any pretensions to the crown, a battle was fought near St. Alban's, in which the Yorkists were victorious. The king himself fell into the hands of the duke, by whom he was treated with great respect and tenderness.

Various were the turns of success during this contest between Henry and the duke of York. The king (by the direction of Margaret) having resumed his prerogative, a battle was fought on Bloreheath, in Staffordshire, which terminated in favour of the duke. Sir Andrew Trollop, however, soon after deserting to the royalists, when a general action was every hour expected, the Yorkists were so dismayed, that they separated without aiming a stroke. After several engagements, the duke of York was slain in a battle, between him and the queen, at Wakefield, in the year 1460. This justly-lamented prince left three sons, Edward, George, and Richard, with three daughters.

Upon the death of the duke of York, the earl of Warwick took the command of the forces belonging to that party. This nobleman, commonly known, from the subsequent events, by the appellation of the *King-Maker*, was distinguished by his bravery, hospitality, and magnificence. Having always been zealous in the cause of the house of York, he entertained an inveterate hatred to Margaret and her favourites. Soon after he had assumed the command, he met the queen at St. Alban's, where another action ensued, in which he was defeated, and the king fell again into the hands of his own party.

The young duke of York now appeared at the head of the cause, and gave new spirits to it. This prince, being very handsome, insinuating in his manners, courageous, and enterprising, soon found himself so much possessed of public favour, that he determined to assume the name and dignity of king, and to insist openly on his claim. For this purpose he advanced with the remains of Warwick's army, and, having obliged Margaret to retire, approached the capital. The army being assembled in St. John's fields, the people were asked, whether they would have Henry or Edward for their king. They unanimously voted ^{A.D. 1461.} for the duke; and this election was confirmed in a council of nobles and citizens. But Edward did not fully consider himself as king before he had obtained a signal victory at Towton over the friends of Henry.

The animosity between the contending families now became implacable; and the nation, divided in its affections, took different symbols of party. The adherents of the house of Lancaster having chosen, as their mark of distinction, the *Red Rose*, and those of York, the *White*, these civil wars were known over Europe by the name of the "*Quarrel of the Two Roses*."

While the war raged, Edward privately married Elizabeth, the widow of Sir John Grey, though he had some time before sent the earl of Warwick to demand the sister of the French king in marriage. In this embassy Warwick was successful, and nothing remained but to bring over the princess into England. When the secret of Edward's marriage was known, the haughty earl deemed himself affronted, returned to England inflamed with rage and indignation, and, from being the king's best friend, became his most formidable enemy. To such a length did this nobleman carry his resentment, that, although the greatest animosity had so long existed between him and the house of Lancaster, he was prevailed on to espouse the cause of Henry, who, by the assistance of Louis XI. of France, was replaced on the throne, whilst Edward narrowly escaped into Holland. Edward, however, returning after five months, advanced to London, under pretence of claiming his dukedom of York; but, being received into the capital, he resumed the exercise of royal authority, and made Henry his prisoner.

Edward, now finding himself in a condition to face Warwick, who had taken post at Barnet, marched from London to attack him; and, being joined the night before the battle by his brother, the duke of Clarence, who upon this occasion ungenerously deserted his father-in-law, he conceived strong hopes of victory. The earl, after having displayed uncommon valour, lost his life in the engagement, as did a great number of his adherents; and the Yorkists completely triumphed. The same day on which this decisive battle was fought, queen Margaret and her son, a young prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth. When this princess received the disastrous intelligence, her courage forsook her, and she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu. But, being encouraged by the appearance of several powerful noblemen, she resumed her former spirit, and determined to risque an engagement. She advanced into Gloucestershire, and found herself supported by a considerable army; but her hopes were ruined in the sanguinary field of Tewkesbury. The

prince, it is said, was murdered by the king's two brothers; and Henry was also, as was generally believed, assassinated by Richard, duke of Gloucester; while Margaret, whose ambition had fanned the flames of civil war, was only punished with imprisonment.

The fortunate Edward now indulged himself in pleasure and dissipation. He suddenly roused himself from his indolence, and made preparations for a war with France: but, after he had invaded that country, he granted peace to Louis for a small pecuniary present, and the promise of an annual pension. After another interval of tranquillity, he again menaced the French with hostilities; but death prevented the execution of his purpose. He died in the 42d year of his age, and the 23d of his reign, leaving A.D. 1483. two sons, Edward, then in his thirteenth year, and Richard, in his ninth. Only one brother survived him; for he had put the duke of Clarence to death in a fit of political jealousy and resentment.

Edward V. having received the oaths of the principal nobility, his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, was made protector of the kingdom. He was no sooner invested with this dignity, than, under pretence of guarding the young king and his brother, he removed them both to the Tower. He had endeavoured to cover, by the most profound dissimulation, his fierce and savage nature; but now he carried his ambitious views beyond the reach of precaution, and no longer hesitated to remove all obstructions which lay between him and the throne.

For this purpose he first secured to his interest the duke of Buckingham. He then tried to gain the assistance of lord Hastings: but, finding him inflexibly faithful to the children of Edward, he accused him of treason, and ordered him to be decapitated without even the formality of a trial. He procured from many of the nobles and commons, (not, indeed, assembled in parliament,) an acknowledgement of his right, on pretence of the invalidity of the marriage of lady Grey with Edward, who had previously espoused another lady. He was now proclaimed king; and, soon after his coronation, his two nephews disappeared. It is the general opinion, that they were smothered as they lay asleep, by sir James Tyrrel and his ruffian associates.

Richard did not long enjoy the crown which he had seized. He quelled an insurrection of the duke of Buckingham,

whose services he had requited with ingratitude; but he was less successful in his opposition to Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, a descendant of John duke of Lancaster. The earl set sail from Harfleur, with a small army of about 2000 men, and landed at Milford-haven, while Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham. The two rivals, at last, approached each other at Bosworth, near Leicester, Henry at the head of 6000 men, and Richard with an army of above double that number. Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley appeared in the field with 8000 men, and declared for Richmond. This measure, which was unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, inspired unusual courage into Henry's soldiers, and threw those of Richard into dismay and confusion. The intrepid tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, fought with unexampled fury to the last moment, and then perished by a fate too mild.

A. D. 1485. and honourable for his flagitious enormities. After the battle, the ornamental crown, which Richard had worn in the field, was placed upon the earl's head by lord Stanley; and *Long live Henry VII.* resounded from all quarters. Thus ended the reign of the Plantagenets; and thus terminated the civil war which had so long desolated the kingdom.

CHAP. II.

RELIGION AND ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS. A. D. 1399—1485.

THE Lollards, or followers of Wickliffe, greatly increased during this period, and became formidable both to the church and to civil authority. At the head of this sect, in the reign of Henry V., was sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, who had distinguished himself by his valour and military talents. His high character, and his zeal for the sect, pointing him out to the archbishop of Canterbury as the proper victim of ecclesiastical severity, he was convicted and condemned to the flames. Cobham, however, found means to escape from the Tower before the day appointed for his execution; when his party, stimulated by zeal, appointed a general rendezvous, in order to seize the king, and put their persecutors to the sword. But Henry, having

gained intelligence of their designs, surprised and took a great number of them, some of whom were executed. Cobham was seized after a long concealment, and committed to the flames as an obstinate heretic.

The archbishop now commanded the university of Oxford to appoint twelve of its most orthodox members to examine the works of Wickliffe, and extract his heretical doctrines. In compliance with this injunction, two hundred and sixty-seven erroneous opinions were transmitted to the primate, who sent them to the pope, with a request to condemn them, and grant him authority to take the body of Wickliffe out of the grave, and throw it on a dunghill, that it might be trampled on by all Christians. The pope condemned Wickliffe's doctrines, but would not permit the primate to disturb his ashes.

About this time, John Huss, professor of divinity in the university of Prague, converted to the opinions of Wickliffe a great number of his countrymen. The council of Constance had resolved to condemn him unheard; but the emperor of Germany desired them to listen to what he had to say in his defence. He was accordingly accused of heresy in thirty-nine articles, part of which he denied, and part he offered to defend. But his voice was drowned by the noise purposely made by the cardinals; and, on his refusing to abjure all the articles, he was immediately declared a hardened heretic, and a propagator of sedition. As such he was degraded by four bishops, stripped of his sacerdotal habit, and clothed in the dress of a layman. His hair being cut in the form of a cross, a paper mitre was put upon his head, painted with the representation of three devils, and he was delivered over to the secular judge, who condemned him and his writings to the flames. He died with great constancy. His friend Jerome soon after shared the same fate.

Great stress was now laid on pilgrimages, processions, indulgences, confessions to priests, and their pardons. George Neville, archbishop of York, enumerates no fewer than thirty-seven kinds of sin, which none but the pope or a bishop could pardon. In this catalogue, the first and greatest sin was heresy; and the least, in the estimation of the church, was raising a sedition, which endangered a state or city.

CHAP. III.

GOVERNMENT AND LAWS. A. D. 1399—1485.

THOUGH the constitution, government, and laws of England, had not yet arrived at that excellence to which they have since attained, they were considerably improved in the course of this period, and much exceeded those of any other state in Europe. It was still, however, an undisputed prerogative of the kings of England to press, not only sailors and soldiers, but goldsmiths, embroiderers, and artificers of all kinds, and even musicians, into their service. They likewise naturalised foreigners by their own authority. Philip de Comines, after describing the disorders that reigned in the governments of France, Germany, and Italy, and the cruel oppressions under which the people of all those countries groaned, concludes in this manner: "In my opinion, of all the states in the world that I know, England is the country where the commonwealth is best governed, and the people are least oppressed." May the inhabitants of this island ever enjoy this most desirable of all distinctions!

Some excellent laws for the regulation and encouragement of trade were made in the reign of Edward IV., who was himself one of the greatest merchants in Europe, and paid particular attention to commerce. The statutes of Richard III. were the first that were expressed in the English language, all former ones having been either in Latin or French, which were not understood by the great body of the people, nor even by many of the legislators. These were also the first printed statutes of England.

CHAP. IV.

LITERATURE. A. D. 1399—1485.

THE unsettled state of Britain, France, and some other countries, torn by the most furious factions, and kept in continual agitation by wars and revolutions, was very unfavourable to the progress of literature; for the wars of those times were not carried on by standing armies, as at present, while the rest of the people pursue their several occupations in tranquillity; but persons of all ranks were called into the field.

We meet with frequent complaints to parliament, that learning was very little esteemed. The most valuable livings in the church were bestowed on illiterate men, or foreigners, by papal influence, while the best scholars in the kingdom were left to languish in indigence and obscurity, and were sometimes driven to the necessity of begging their bread from door to door, recommended to charity by the chancellors of the universities in which they had studied. Two of these learned mendicants, we are told, came to the castle of a certain nobleman, who, understanding from their credentials that they had a taste for poetry, commanded his servants to take them to a draw-well, and, after putting each of them into a bucket, to let them down alternately into the water, till they should make a couplet of verses on the buckets. After they had endured this discipline for a considerable time, to the great entertainment of the baron and his company, they made their verses, and obtained their liberty.

On the other hand, when any one had powerful friends, or abundance of money, though he might be extremely ignorant and profligate, he seldom failed of preferment. "I knew a certain illiterate idiot," says a judicious doctor of the fifteenth century, "the son of a mad knight, who, for being the companion, or rather the fool, of the sons of a great family of the royal blood, was made archdeacon of Oxford before he was eighteen years of age, and soon after obtained two rich rectories and twelve prebends. I asked him one day what he thought of learning? As for learning, said he, I despise it. I have better livings than any of you great doctors, and I believe as much as any of you."

In all the authors of this period, the most obvious defect is a total want of taste. The art of criticism seems to have been totally neglected; and the generality of writers appear to have had no idea of purity of style, or propriety of sentiment. When they attempted to be pathetic or sublime, they always ran into the most extravagant bombast.

CHAP. V.

THE ARTS. A. D. 1399—1485.

THE style of sacred architecture, commonly called the *Gothic*, continued to be gradually improved; and, in the course of this period, it was brought to the highest perfection. Of this lofty, bold, and perfect style of building,

several specimens remain entire, which are still beheld with pleasure and admiration. Of this kind are the chapel of King's college at Cambridge, the chapel of St. George at Windsor, the divinity school at Oxford, and the college church in Edinburgh.

The changes introduced into the art of war, by the invention of gunpowder, were very slow. The martial adventurers of those times were not fond of relinquishing the arms to which they had been accustomed; and it was difficult to find instruments to manage and direct an agent so impetuous as gunpowder. Some of their cannons were exceedingly large, and others very small. Some discharged balls of 500 pounds weight, and required fifty horses to draw them, and others were not much heavier than a musquet. Many of the cannon-balls were made of stone. In 1419, Henry V. gave a commission to John South, clerk of the ordnance, and John Bennet, mason in Maidstone, to press a sufficient number of masons to make 7000 cannon-balls, in the quarries of Maidstone-heath. It is a curious and well-attested fact, that the art of discharging red-hot balls from cannons was known and practised early in this period. When an English army, commanded by the duke of Gloucester, besieged Cherbourg, in 1418, the besieged discharged red-hot balls of iron from their cannon into the English camp, to burn the huts in which the soldiers were lodged.

Though great guns were now used both in the attack and defence of places, no alterations were yet made in constructing and fortifying such places. The prodigious thickness and solidity of the walls of the Anglo-Norman castles, made them appear sufficiently strong to resist any force with which they could be assaulted. The truth is, that the people of England, in this period, were much more employed in beating down than in building. Many large, strong, and magnificent castles were demolished or dismantled during the desolating civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster; while very few were erected; for, when these castles were destroyed, their noble proprietors, who might have rebuilt them, were either killed or ruined.

During this period, the excellent art of printing, which hath contributed so much to dispel mental darkness, and to diffuse the light of every species of knowledge, was invented on the continent, and introduced into this island. Laurence Coster, keeper of the cathedral of Haerlem, conceived the first idea of typography, and printed several small books in

that city, with wooden types tied together with threads. As this art was likely to be very profitable, Laurence kept the secret with great care, and wished to transmit it to his family. But this design did not succeed; for, about the time of his death, one of his workmen, carrying off some of his master's types, retired to Mentz, where he began to print with them, being encouraged and supplied with money by John Fust, a wealthy citizen. His assistant, John Gutenberg, afterwards invented metal types, and set them in frames; which was so great an improvement, that the city of Mentz claimed the honour of being the place where printing was invented. The art was improved by Peter Schoeffer, who invented the mode of casting the types in matrices. Caxton, a citizen of London, who observed the rising art with curiosity and joy, is entitled to the honour of being the first who practised it in England.

CHAP. VI.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES. A. D. 1399—1485.

THOMAS Walsingham, a monk of St. Alban's, was the best of our historians during this period. His narrative is more circumstantial and satisfactory than that of the other annalists of those times. He relates, indeed, ridiculous stories of visions, miracles, and prodigies; but this was the fault of the age rather than of the man.

John Whethamstede, abbot of St. Alban's, wrote a chronicle of twenty years in this period, which contains many original papers, and gives a very full account of some events, particularly of the two battles of St. Alban's. The most remarkable circumstance in the personal history of this writer is his longevity. He was ordained a priest in 1382, and died in 1464, at the advanced age of one hundred and five, having been eighty-two years in priest's orders.

Though the inns of court and chancery were crowded with students of law in this period, Sir Thomas Littleton and Sir John Fortescue were the only gentlemen, of that profession, who made a distinguished figure as authors.

Sir Thomas Littleton, after receiving a liberal education, was entered of the Inner Temple. His abilities as a lawyer procured him, from Henry VI., the office of steward of the court; and Edward IV. appointed him one of the judges of the court of common-pleas. He died in 1481, leaving three

sons, who all became eminent in the law. It was for the use of one of them that he wrote his celebrated *Treatise on Tenures*, or titles by which all estates were anciently held in England.

Sir John Fortescue was the great ornament of his honourable profession, and one of the best and most learned men of the age in which he flourished. Being appointed chief justice of the King's Bench by Henry VI., he steadily adhered to that monarch in all his troubles. His famous work, "*De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*," is a monument both of his abilities and his affection for his country. He died in the ninetyeth year of his age.

William Caxton, the first English printer, was bred a merchant; but, when a marriage was concluded between Margaret, sister to Edward IV., and the duke of Burgundy, Caxton appears to have been of the lady's retinue, when she arrived at Bruges. Here he acquired a knowledge of the newly-discovered art of printing; and the first book he printed was the *History of Troy*, translated by himself from the French, in 1471: but the first book printed in England was the *Game of Chess*, dated in 1474.

James I. of Scotland, was one of the most learned men of the age in which he lived. This ingenious and amiable prince fell into the hands of the enemies of his country, when he was flying from the snares of his ambitious uncle, who governed his dominions, and was suspected of designs against his life. Henry IV. and V. of England knew the value of the prize which they had obtained, and kept it with the most anxious care. King James was thirteen years of age when he lost his liberty, and was detained in close confinement till he was about twenty-six. In this melancholy situation, so unsuitable to his age and rank, books were his chief companions, and study his greatest pleasure. Having received a good education in early youth, under the direction of Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrew's, he became, by his subsequent application, a general scholar, an excellent poet, and an exquisite musician. He invented a new kind of music, plaintive and melancholy, but at the same time so sweet and soothing, that it hath given pleasure to thousands in every succeeding age. Three of his poems are still extant, namely, *Christ's Kirk of the Green*, *Peebles to the Play*, and the *King's Quair*, which afford sufficient evidence that the genius of this royal poet was equally fitted for the gayest or the gravest strains.

CHAP. VII.

COMMERCE AND MARITIME AFFAIRS. A.D. 1399—1485.

THOUGH the English, in this period, were much engaged in war, and consequently could not carry on trade with the same ease and safety as in more peaceable times, the circle of their commerce was rather enlarged than contracted. Foreign trade was not then conducted as it is at present. Merchants did not usually carry their goods to the ports, where they were to be finally disposed of, but to certain *emporîa*, called staple towns, in which they met with customers from the countries where their merchandise was wanted, and with the commodities they wished to purchase for importation. These arrangements were probably suggested by the consideration of the imperfect state of navigation, which rendered long voyages tedious, and of the number of pirates, which made them dangerous. Merchants, therefore, of distant countries divided the fatigue and danger, and met each other half-way. Bruges, in Flanders, was the great emporium of Europe in this period, to which the merchants of the south and north conveyed their goods for sale; and so great was their resort to it from the Mediterranean and the Baltic, that one hundred and fifty ships were seen to arrive at its harbour of Sluys in one day.

The heroic Henry V. was as victorious by sea as by land, and in his reign the fleets of England rode triumphant on the narrow seas. None of the kings of England before him had any ships that were the property of the sovereign or the nation. At his first invasion of France, he had two large and beautiful ships, with purple sails, the one called the *King's Chamber*, the other his *Hall*. Edward IV. paid great attention to mercantile and maritime affairs, and sometimes collected very great fleets. The reign of Richard III. was so short and turbulent, that he had little opportunity of shewing his attention to the dominion of the sea.

Some attempts were now made to build ships of greater burthen than those of the former period, in imitation of the carracks of Venice and Genoa, which were often seen in the British harbours: but these attempts were very few, as they are mentioned by our historians with expressions of admiration. A gentleman of Hull obtained various privileges and immunities from Henry VI. "*because he had built a ship as large as a carrack*;" and James Kennedy, the patriotic bi-

shop of St. Andrew's, is as much celebrated for building a ship of uncommon magnitude, called the *Bishop's Barge*, as for building and endowing a college.

The new coins of this period were nobles and angels, worth nineteen shillings and fourteen shillings of our present money. They were much admired, both at home and abroad, for their purity and beauty. In the first parliament of James III. of Scotland, an act was made for coining copper-money, "*for the use and support of the king's subjects, and to be given as alms to the poor.*"

CHAP. VIII.

MANNERS. A. D. 1399—1485.

CHIVALRY, one of the most remarkable peculiarities in the manners of the middle ages, began to decline in the fifteenth century. Our kings and nobles were then so much engaged in real combats, that they could not pay equal attention to the representations of them in tilts and tournaments.

The bravery and martial ardour of both the British nations never appeared more conspicuous than in this period, particularly in the reign of Henry V. The English, under that heroic prince, seemed to be invincible, and fought with so much courage and success, that, near the end of his reign, they had a probable prospect of making a complete conquest of France. The Scots were much admired for intrepidity in their own defence, and for the seasonable succours which they sent to their ancient allies, in their greatest distress, when they were on the verge of ruin.

The hospitality of all ranks, but particularly of the great and opulent, was now very remarkable. The castles of the powerful barons were capacious palaces, daily crowded with their numerous retainers, who were always welcome to their plentiful tables. "Neville, earl of Warwick," says Stow, "was ever held in great favour by the commons of the land, on account of his hospitality in all places wherever he went; and, when he came to London, he kept such a house, that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast, and every tavern was full of his meat." The earls of Douglas, in Scotland, before the fall of that great family, rivaled, or rather exceeded, their sovereigns in pomp and profuse hospitality. But to this manner of living, it is highly probable, these

great chieftains were prompted, not so much by the innate generosity of their tempers, as by a desire of increasing the number and attachment of their retainers, on which, in those turbulent times, their dignity, and even their safety, depended. Though these dependents did not constantly reside in the families of their lords, they wore their liveries and badges, feasted in their halls, swelled their retinues on all great solemnities, attended them on their journeys, and followed them into the field of battle. Some powerful chieftains had so great a number of these retainers at their command, that they set the laws at defiance, were formidable to their sovereigns, and terrible to their fellow-subjects.

It was now become the custom in great families to have four meals in a day, viz. breakfast, dinner, supper, and *livery*, the last of which was a collation of cakes and mulled wine in their bed-chambers, just before they went to rest. As our ancestors were still early risers, they breakfasted at seven, and dined at ten, supped at four, and had the livery between eight and nine. But though their morning repast was early, their appetites seem to have been sufficiently keen. An earl and his countess had, for breakfast, "two loaves of bread, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, two pieces of salt fish, six baconed herrings, four white herrings, or a dish of *sproits*." It is remarkable, that shop-keepers, mechanics, and labourers, breakfasted at eight, dined at noon, and supped at six, which were later hours than those of the nobility. So different are the customs of one age from those of another.

The English were remarkable in this period, among the nations of Europe, for the absurd practice of swearing in conversation. The count of Luxemburg, accompanied by the earls of Warwick and Stafford, visited the Maid of Orleans in her prison at Rouen, where she was chained to the floor. The count, who had sold her to the English, pretended that he had come to treat with her about her ransom. Viewing him with just resentment and disdain, she cried, "*Begone!* You have neither the inclination nor the power to ransom me." Then turning her eyes towards the two earls, she said, "I know that you English are determined to put me to death, and imagine that, after I am dead, you will conquer France. But though there were a hundred thousand of your *swearing countrymen* in France, they will never conquer that kingdom." A contemporary historian, who had frequently conversed with Henry VI., men-

tions it as a commendable singularity in his character, that he did not swear in common conversation, but reproved his ministers and officers of state for so odious an habit, which, much to our honour, is now almost universally reprobated, and banished from every polite company.

CHAP. IX.

INCIDENTS AND CURIOUS PARTICULARS. A. D. 1399—1485.

IN the reign of Henry VI. we have the first instance of debt contracted upon parliamentary security. The commencement of this pernicious practice deserves to be noted, as it is more likely to become pernicious, the more a nation advances in opulence and credit. The ruinous effects of it are now become too apparent, and threaten the very existence of the nation.

Playing-cards were invented, about the end of the fourteenth century, by a painter in Paris, for the amusement of that unhappy prince, Charles VI., in his lucid intervals. They were originally very different in their appearance from what they are at present, being gilded, and illuminated, which required no little skill and genius, as well as labour. The price of one pack was no less than 18s. 8d. a very considerable sum in those times. This is the reason that playing-cards were little known or used for many years after they were invented.

During this period, the number of judges in the courts at Westminster was not fixed, as, in the reign of Henry VI., there were sometimes six, seven, or eight, judges in the court of Common Pleas. The ancient salaries of these judges were very small. The chief justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas had each of them only 40*l.* a year, and the other judges 30*l.*, till Henry VI., by letters patent, granted to the former 160*l.* and to the latter 100*l.* Besides the salaries, every judge had a certain quantity of silk, linen, cloth, and furs, for his summer and winter robes, out of the royal wardrobe, or an equivalent in money. The annual salary of the attorney-general was only 10*l.*, equivalent to 120*l.* at present. When a judge was admitted into his office, he took a solemn oath, "that he would not receive any fee, pension, gift, reward, or bribe, of any man having a suit or plea before him, except meat and drink, which should be of no great value."

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VII., IN 1485, TO THE DEATH OF HENRY VIII. IN 1547.

WHEN the victory of the Lancastrians at Bosworth had extinguished the usurpation of Richard III., the title of Henry VII. was confirmed by the parliament; and his marriage with the eldest daughter of Edward IV. united the claims of the rival houses, and seemed to give general satisfaction to the nation. He had, therefore, every reason to promise himself peace and security.

But though a prudent and politic prince, he had unhappily imbibed a violent antipathy against the adherents of the house of York, which neither time nor experience could efface. Instead of embracing the present opportunity of abolishing party-distinctions, by bestowing his smiles indiscriminately on the friends of both families, he carried to the throne all the partialities that belong to the head of a faction. He thus excited and inflamed that disgust and discontent which tended to endanger his government. He confined in the Tower Edward earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence. This unhappy prince had been formerly detained, in a like confinement, by the jealousy of Richard. A comparison was drawn between Henry and that tyrant; and, as the Tower was the place where Edward's children had been murdered, a fate not more gentle was feared for Warwick. While the compassion of the nation was thus turned towards youth and innocence, exposed to oppression, a report was spread, that the earl had made his escape. A general joy was diffused by the rumor; and such an opportunity was not neglected by the enemies of Henry's government.

Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, attempted to gratify the popular wish by holding up an impostor to the nation. For this purpose, he cast his eyes upon Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, who, being endowed with understanding beyond his years, and address above his condition, seemed well calculated to personate a prince of royal extraction.

This youth, who was instructed to assume the name and character of the earl of Warwick, soon seemed to be so perfect in his part, that the queen-dowager was supposed to have given him a lesson. His appearance in Ireland excited general attention. He was received with the greatest joy, and even proclaimed and crowned as Edward VI. The earl of Lincoln, nephew to the late king, joined him with a body of foreign soldiers; and a descent was made in Lancashire: A. D. 1487. but Henry triumphed over his enemies in the battle of Stoke, and captured the bold impostor, whose life he condescended to spare.

The intrigues of another pretender gave Henry still greater anxiety. Perkin Warbeck, a youth to whom Edward IV. had been god-father, was tutored by that prince's sister, the duchess of Burgundy, to personate her nephew Richard, duke of York. He supported the character with ability and address, and, for many years, filled the court with alarm: but he was at length induced, by a promise of safety, to surrender himself to Henry, who, after detaining him for two years in confinement, found a pretence for putting him to death, and also sacrificed to his jealous fears the innocent earl of Warwick.

Soon after the king had thus secured internal tranquillity, he had the satisfaction of completing a marriage between his son Arthur, prince of Wales, and the infanta Catharine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. The young prince, however, in the course of a few months, sickened and died, much regretted by the nation. Henry, desirous of continuing his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catharine's dowry, obliged his second son, Henry, to be contracted to the infanta. His eldest daughter was soon after sent with a magnificent train to Scotland, where she was married to James IV.

The situation of the king's affairs, both at home and abroad, was now, in every respect, very fortunate. Uncontrolled, therefore, by opposition of any kind, he gave full scope to his natural propensity; and avarice, which had ever been his ruling passion, broke through all restraints of shame and justice. He had found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations, and to prey upon his defenceless people. Arbitrary decrees were issued without trial or jury, and the laws were turned into a system of oppression. Remorse seized him, at intervals, for the abuse of his authority, but was

insufficient to make him stay the rapacious hands of the two oppressors of his people. When the approach of death, however, alarmed him, he ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all whom he had injured. He died of a consumption, at his favourite palace of Richmond, in the 53d year of A. D. 1509. his age, and the 24th of his reign. His capacity was excellent, but somewhat contracted by the narrowness of his heart. He possessed insinuation and address, but never employed these talents, except where some great point was to be gained; and he remains a singular instance of a man placed in a high station, and endowed with talents for great affairs, in whom avarice was more predominant than ambition. Even among private persons, this passion is often nothing but a species of ambition, and is chiefly incited by the prospect of that respect and distinction, which riches procure.

The accession of Henry VIII., who was now in his eighteenth year, gave universal satisfaction. The beauty and vigour of his person, accompanied with dexterity in every manly exercise, added to a knowledge of literature far beyond his age, gave promising hopes of his becoming the idol of the people; and, as the contending titles of York and Lancaster were at last fully united in his person, men justly expected from a prince, obnoxious to no party, that impartiality of administration which had long been unknown in England.

One of the earliest acts of his reign tended to increase his popularity. He ordered Empson and Dudley to be tried for their iniquitous proceedings; and, when it appeared that their offences were not capital in the eye of the law, they were condemned as traitors, for a supposed conspiracy against him.

While the young king rioted in pleasure and indulgence, he met with a minister who complied with all his inclinations, and flattered him in every scene to which his impetuous temper was inclined. This was Thomas Wolsey, dean of Lincoln, and almoner to the king. He was the son of a butcher at Ipswich; but, having received a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was employed by Henry VII. in some secret negotiations, in which he acquitted himself much to his satisfaction. Some time after the accession of Henry VIII. Fox, bishop of Winchester, cast his eyes upon him, as a proper person to supplant, in the royal favour, the earl of Surry, of whose

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superiority he was jealous. For this purpose, he recommended Wolsey, who soon supplanted both his patron and the earl. Being admitted into Henry's parties of pleasure, he took the lead in every gaiety; nor were his years, which were nearly forty, nor his character as a clergyman, any restraint upon him. The king, having found a person so agreeable to him, advanced Wolsey, from being the companion of his pleasures, to be a member of his council, and from being a member of his council to be his sole and absolute minister.

Encouraged by Wolsey, and impelled by his natural temper, Henry made the most expensive preparations by sea and land to invade France. Terouenne being beleaguered, the French endeavoured to throw succours into the place. Henry, as soon as he received intelligence of the approach of the French cavalry, sent some troops to oppose them; when, notwithstanding the French party chiefly consisted of gentlemen who had behaved with great gallantry in many desperate actions, they precipitately fled upon the approach of the English. They were pursued, and many officers of distinction became prisoners; among whom was the famous chevalier Bayard: and, from this hasty flight of the French, the action was called the *battle of spurs*.

After this advantage, the king might have made incursions to the gates of Paris. Scarcely ever was the French monarchy in greater danger, or less in a condition to defend itself against the powerful armies which assailed it on every side. But Louis was extricated from his present difficulties by the blunders of his enemies; and Henry, after taking Tournay, returned to England, elate with trifling success.

The Scots having made an incursion into England, the earl of Surry marched to oppose them, and a battle ensued at Flodden-field, wherein the king of Scotland and many of his nobles were slain. But, instead of taking advantage of this defeat, and reducing the kingdom to subjection, as he might easily have done, Henry generously granted a peace to his sister Margaret, who was appointed regent during the minority of her son. He likewise made peace with Louis XII. of France, and bestowed on him his sister Mary in marriage.

Henry offered himself a candidate for the German empire, during its vacancy, but soon resigned his pretensions to Francis I. of France, and Charles of Austria, king of Spain,

the latter of whom was elected emperor in 1519. His conduct, in the long and obstinate wars between those princes, was directed by Wolsey's views upon the popedom. Wolsey hoped to gain his elevation to the chair of St. Peter by the interest of the emperor; but, finding himself twice deceived, he persuaded his master to declare for Francis, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia. Henry was thus the dupe of both parties, paying great part of their expenses, till at last he was obliged to impose heavy burthens on his subjects.

Although the passions of Henry were afterwards subservient to the great work of the reformation, he at first declared himself the champion of the Romish church. He wrote a book against Luther, "*Of the Seven Sacraments*," for which the pope gave him the title of *Defender of the Faith*. In the year 1527, however, he began to entertain some scruples with regard to the validity of his marriage with his brother's widow. Anne Boleyn, having been lately appointed maid of honour to the queen, had, from being frequently seen by Henry, and conversing with him, acquired an ascendancy over his affections. Finding the accomplishments of her mind in no degree inferior to her exterior graces, he resolved to raise her to the throne. Having, therefore, divorced Catharine, he married the object of his affections, and was soon after excommunicated by the pope.

Enraged at this treatment, Henry abolished the papal authority in England, refused to pay to the see of Rome his annual tribute, ordered the dissolution of monasteries, and obliged the clergy, as well as all others, to acknowledge him head of the church; and those who refused obedience were either banished or put to death. Among these last were Sir Thomas More, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester. Cardinal Wolsey, too, having on this occasion incurred the king's displeasure, was deprived of his immense power and possessions, and died of a broken heart. "Had I served my God," said he, "as diligently as I have served my prince, he would not have forsaken me in the days of my grey hairs."

Anne Boleyn soon lost the king's favour. His affection for her languished from satiety. He had besides become enamoured of Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour, a young lady of great beauty and merit. The queen's enemies took advantage of this change. She was accused of criminal correspondence with several gentlemen of her chamber, and, being tried by a jury of peers,

charge was unsupported by proof, she was condemned to lose her head.

Henry, in his impatience to gratify this new passion, not only lost all sense of humanity, but all regard to decency; for he married Jane Seymour on the very day after the murder of his innocent queen. Jane dying in child-bed, he began to think of a new marriage. Having turned his thoughts towards several princesses, he was persuaded by his minister Cromwell to espouse Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutheran princes, with whom he wished to form an alliance. A flattering likeness by Hans Holbein had given Henry a favourable opinion of the person of this princess; but the first sight of her inspired him with great disgust. His aversion to her increasing every day, he resolved to seek the dissolution of a marriage so odious to him; and, by alleging a pre-contract on the part of the lady, he easily obtained his wish. His fifth wife was Catharine Howard, whom he ordered to be decapitated for ante-nuptial impurity. He afterwards espoused Catharine Parr, who narrowly escaped being brought to the stake for her religious opinions, which favoured the reformation.

Henry's cruelty increased with his years, and was exercised promiscuously on Protestants and Catholics. He put to death the brave earl of Surry, though no crime was proved against him; and his father, the duke of Norfolk, must have suffered the next day, had he not been saved by the king's prior decease. The tyrant died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, bequeathing his crown, first to Edward, then to Mary, and next to Elizabeth.

Though a catalogue of this monarch's vices would comprehend some of the worst qualities incident to human nature, yet he was not altogether destitute of virtues. He was open, gallant, liberal, and capable, at least, of a temporary friendship and attachment. Notwithstanding his arbitrary administration, he was so far from being hated by his subjects, that he possessed in some degree, even to the last, their love and affection. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude. His magnificence and personal splendour rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes. And it is said with truth, that the English in that age were easily subdued, that, like eastern slaves, they were prone to those acts of violence and tyranny, which they practised on themselves, and at their own expense.

CHAP. II.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. A.D. 1485—1547.

DURING the reign of Henry VII. the disciples of Wickliffe were not, in general, so ambitious of the crown of martyrdom, as they had formerly been. When they were accused of heresy, and threatened with the cruel death inflicted on heretics, many of them recanted.

Though the authority of the pope, and the tenets and ceremonies of the church of Rome, seemed to be firmly established in England, at the accession of Henry VIII., the foundations on which they rested were in some degree undermined, and the fabric was not so firm as it appeared. The revival of learning, and the invention of the art of printing, rendered books more attainable; so that knowledge became more general than it had been in former times. This also gave an opportunity to persons of different opinions to communicate their sentiments to the public, which produced the reformation of religion. A concurrence of incidents contributed to forward this great revolution.

Pope Leo X., by his generous and enterprising temper, had much exhausted his treasury, and was obliged to employ every invention, which might yield money, in order to support his projects, pleasures, and liberalities. For this purpose he published the sale of a general indulgence, the several branches of which were bestowed on particular persons, who were entitled to levy the imposition. The Augustine friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and, from this trust, derived both profit and consideration. But the person to whom they were farmed, apprehending that practice had taught them to secrete the money, gave this occupation to the Dominicans. The monks, in order to prove themselves worthy of the distinction conferred on them, exaggerated the benefits of indulgences, which were to free the purchaser from the pains of purgatory, and advanced, on this subject, doctrines altogether new. To add to the scandal, the collectors were said to have led the most licentious lives.

Martin Luther, an Augustine friar, professor in the university of Wittenberg, resenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach against these abuses, and even to question the authority of the pope. As he enlarged his reading, in order to support his tenets, he discovered some new abuse

or error in the church of Rome; and, finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, discourse, sermons, and conferences.

The rumour of these innovations soon reached England; and, as there were still in the kingdom great numbers of Wickliffites, whose principles resembled those of Luther, the new doctrines secretly gained many partisans among the laity. But Henry, who had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, and bore a particular prejudice against Luther, because in his writings he had spoken with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, opposed the new tenets. He procured, indeed, an act of parliament, confirming to him the ecclesiastical supremacy; and, having fixed himself head of the English and Irish churches, instead of the pope, whose jurisdiction he abolished, he likewise took proper methods to diminish the influence of the clergy. The monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues applied to other purposes. But the doctrines and ceremonies of Rome were, in a great measure, retained.

Cromwell, earl of Essex, though not conscious of guilt or apprehensive of danger, being seised and committed to the Tower, was attainted by an act of parliament for heresy and high-treason, without being heard, and beheaded on Tower-hill. This great man was hardly laid in his grave, when three of the most learned and zealous preachers of the reformed doctrine were committed to the flames in Smithfield. Three papists, who had been found guilty of treason for denying the king's supremacy, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at the same time and place; which made a foreigner, who was a spectator of this horrid scene, cry out, "Good God! how unhappy are the people of this country, who are hanged for being papists, or burned for being enemies to popery."

Henry laboured to bring about uniformity with uncommon ardour, and seems to have determined that none of his subjects should think, speak, or act, in matters of religion, but as he directed them. Not content with dictating a system of doctrines which they were to believe, and the ceremonies they were to practise in the church, he published a manual of prayers, which he strictly commanded all his subjects to use in their private devotions, prohibiting the use of any other prayers in their closets. This was called the *King's Primer*. Even the most trivial things, relating to religion, were considered as of the greatest consequence. Some of the

people, for example, kept St. Mark's day as a fast, and others of them kept it as a feast. He was much offended at this, and published a royal injunction to all his loving subjects, to eat flesh on St. Mark's day.

CHAP. III.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT. A.D. 1485—1547.

A GENERAL peace being re-established, soon after the accession of Henry VII., the prospect of happier days seemed to open on the nation. But, as the people were wearied out by the calamities they had undergone, and longed only for repose, they abhorred even the idea of resistance. The nobility were left defenceless, and abandoned to the mercy of the sovereign, while the commons, finding themselves bereft of those who had hitherto been their leaders, were more than ever afraid to form an opposition.

So many noblemen had been killed, executed, and attainted, in the cruel contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, that only twenty-eight temporal peers were summoned to the first parliament of Henry VII. This diminution of the number of peers lessened their weight in the scale of government; and, as that was one object of the policy of Henry, he raised very few to the peerage.

The time had now arrived, when England must submit, in its turn, to the fate of other nations of Europe. All those barriers, which it had raised for the defence of its liberty, seemed to have only been able to postpone the inevitable effects of power. During the reign of Henry VIII. the parliament was so little jealous of its privileges, (which indeed were at that time scarcely worth preserving,) that there is an instance of one Strode, who, because he had introduced into the lower house some bill regarding tin, was severely treated by the stannary courts in Cornwall. Heavy fines were imposed on him, and, upon his refusal to pay, he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and used in such a manner as brought his life in danger. Yet all the notice which the parliament took of this enormity, even in such a paltry court, was to enact "that no man could afterwards be questioned for his conduct in parliament." This prohibition, however, must be supposed to have extended only to the inferior courts; for the king, the privy-council, and the star-chamber, were scarcely bound by any law.

There is a bill of tonnage, which shews what uncertain ideas the parliament had formed both of its own privileges and of the rights of the sovereign. This duty had been voted to every king since Henry IV., during the term of his life only. Henry VIII., however, had been allowed to levy it six years without any law; and, though there had been four parliaments assembled during that time, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or restrain him from levying it. At last, the parliament resolved to give him that supply; but, even in this concession, they plainly show themselves at a loss to determine whether they granted it, or whether he had a right of himself to levy it.

The revenues of the crown, at this time, were very great. The treasure found in the coffers of Henry VII. was equivalent to 8,000,000*l.* of our money at present. All that wealth, the ordinary and extraordinary revenues of the crown, the tenths and first-fruits from the clergy, which had been formerly paid to the pope, together with the inestimable spoils of all the religious houses in England, whose value almost exceeded the bounds of calculation, came into the possession of Henry VIII. Had these revenues been well managed, they might have made the crown independent of the country, and enabled the king to reign for a long time without a parliament. But, fortunately for the people of England, Henry dissipated all those treasures, died poor, and transmitted his crown to his son and successor, as dependent on the people for their supplies in parliament, as at any former period.

With regard to the administration of justice in this monarch's reign, the laws were basely perverted, and the most shocking acts of oppression were perpetrated, under the pretence of punishing offences. On what slender evidence were the amiable queen Anne Boleyn, and her accomplished brother, lord Rochford, found guilty of high-treason, condemned, and executed! On what trivial pretences did the convocation pronounce a sentence of divorce between Henry and his queen, Anne of Cleves, which was confirmed by parliament! How many noble persons were found guilty of high-treason without any trial, by acts of attainder, though they earnestly intreated to be tried before they were condemned! Was not this a gross violation of the first and plainest principles of law and justice? Who, after this, will hesitate to pronounce Henry a tyrant, and his parliaments the servile executioners of his imperious and cruel mandates?

CHAP. IV.

LITERATURE. A.D. 1485—1547.

THE morning of that auspicious day which succeeded the long night of ignorance, in which almost all Europe had been involved from the fall of the western empire, had dawned on Italy, and some other parts of the continent, before it reached this little sequestered world of Britain. While learning was reviving in some other countries, it was languishing and declining in this island; and the period that immediately preceded the present, was here one of the darkest and most illiterate. In every former period, some extraordinary men arose, such as the venerable Bede, Alfred the Great, Roger Bacon, and Wickliffe, who, by the force of their genius and application, dissipated, in some degree, the gloom with which they were surrounded, and rendered their names immortal. But in the fifteenth century there were hardly any who deserved a permanent reputation by their writings.

Our present period, however, presents us with a more agreeable prospect. A better taste and greater esteem for literature were introduced. The countenance given to letters by Henry VIII. and his ministers, contributed to render learning fashionable in England. Erasmus speaks with great satisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of education and of improved minds.

No province of literature was cultivated with so much care and success by the revivers of learning in this period, as philology, or the accurate knowledge of languages, particularly of the Latin and Greek classics. The neglect into which the works of the philosophers, poets, and historians of Greece and Rome had fallen, was one great cause of the decline of learning, and of the bad taste and barbarism of the middle ages. The revivers of learning, therefore, acted wisely in beginning its revival, by removing one of the great causes of its decline. By acquiring a correct and critical knowledge of the language, style, and manner of those excellent writers, they obtained two great advantages. They had access to all the stores of wisdom and eloquence, which their writings contained, and to all the pleasure, which their perusal could afford; and, by imitating such beautiful models, they acquired the art of communicating their own thoughts to the world in a perspicuous, elegant, and pleasing manner.

In this art, some of the revivers of learning, both in Britain and on the continent, succeeded to admiration, and wrote in Latin with a classical purity not unworthy of the Augustan age. The success and example of those eminent men brought the study of the Latin language into fashion. To speak and to write pure and classical Latin, was considered as a valuable and even a polite accomplishment, to which persons of high rank and of both sexes aspired. In order to assist youth in the acquisition of this accomplishment, the greatest scholars of the age, as Erasmus, Linacre, and many others, did not disdain to spend their time in writing rudiments, grammars, vocabularies, colloquies, and other books. The haughty monarch, Henry VIII., and his no less haughty minister, cardinal Wolsey, stooped to employ their pens in writing instructions to youth, in the study of this favourite language. The king wrote an introduction to grammar, and the cardinal composed a system of instructions to be observed by the masters of the school which he founded at Ipswich, his native town. The cardinal had been a schoolmaster, and was well qualified for giving these instructions, which are equally sensible and particular. James IV. of Scotland was an excellent Latin classic; and his letters are written with greater purity and elegance than those of any other prince in Europe. In a word, the Roman classics were now studied with so much diligence, and the capacity of imitating their style and manner was so much valued, that the sixteenth century may very properly be called *Seculum Latinum*, the Latin age.

The restorers of learning found much greater difficulty in acquiring a competent knowledge of the Greek language, and in persuading others that the study of it was either necessary or useful. That copious and beautiful language, in which so many of the philosophers, poets, historians, and orators of antiquity had written, was almost unknown in Britain in the beginning of this period. The celebrated Erasmus came into England in 1497, and went to Oxford with an intention of teaching Greek, but met with little encouragement. Many both of the secular and regular clergy declaimed against him in the schools, and even in the pulpit, with great bitterness. They railed particularly against his Greek New Testament, as a most impious and dangerous book. He continued, however, to teach at Oxford a considerable time, encouraged by a few ingenious men, who gladly received his instructions, and afterwards communicated them to others.

Erasmus bestows high encomiums on Wolsey, as a patron of letters and learned men. "This extraordinary man," says he, "had a genius and taste for learning, in which he had made great proficiency in his youth, and for which he retained a regard in his highest elevation. Polite learning, yet struggling with the patrons of the ancient ignorance, he upheld by his favour, defended by his authority, adorned by his splendour, and cherished by his kindness. He invited the most learned professors by his noble salaries. In furnishing libraries with the works of celebrated authors, he contended with Ptolemy Philadelphus himself, who was more famous in this respect than for the greatness of his power, or the dignity of his government. He recalled the three learned languages, without which all learning is lame." When the cardinal visited Oxford in 1518, he founded seven lectures, and chose the most learned men he could procure to read them. He at the same time intimated his intention of doing much greater things for the honour of the university and the advancement of learning, which he executed in part, and, to his unspeakable sorrow, was prevented from executing fully, by his unexpected fall.

CHAP. V.

THE ARTS. A. D. 1485—1547.

FROM the accession of the Tudors, and the extinction of those factions which distracted England, a period of comparative tranquillity commences. Such repose being propitious to arts and commerce, the country recovered from the calamities of internal discord, and continued afterwards in a state of progressive, though slow, improvement.

Agriculture and gardening, during the distraction of the civil wars, had been much neglected, but were now prosecuted with such success, that to the present period is ascribed the introduction of various fruits and vegetables into England. The fruit-garden was enriched by large accessions from foreign countries; and apricots, melons, and currants, were brought from Zante, for the first time, in the sixteenth century. In the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., carrots, turnips, and other edible roots, were imported from Holland and Flanders. Queen Catharine, when she wanted a *salad*, was obliged to dispatch a messenger thither on purpose. The introduction of hops from the Netherlands was

somewhat earlier, and their culture was much encouraged. Flax was attempted, but without success, though enforced by law. The legislature, at that time, endeavoured to execute, by means of penalties, those national improvements, which have since been fostered and cherished by bounties.

To the passion of the age, and the predilection of the monarch for splendid tournaments, may be attributed the attention bestowed on a breed of horses, of a strength and nature adapted to the weight of the complicated panoply, with which the knight and his courser were invested. Statutes of a singular nature were enacted, allotting, for deer-parks, a certain proportion of breeding-mares, and enjoining the prelates and nobles, as well as those whose wives wore velvet bonnets, to have stallions of a certain size for the saddle. The legal standard was fifteen hands in horses, and thirteen in mares.

There is a certain perfection in art to which human genius may aspire with success, beyond which improvement degenerates into false taste and fantastic refinement. The rude simplicity of *Saxon architecture* was supplanted by the magnificence of the *ornamental Gothic*. But magnificence itself is at last exhausted, and it terminated, during the present period, in a style which some, in allusion to literature, denominate the *florid*. The superb chapel, which Henry VII. erected in Westminster, exhausted every ornament that taste could dictate, or piety accumulate, and exhibits a splendid specimen of Gothic architecture in its latest period. Grecian architecture was then introduced; but its orders, till a purer taste prevailed, being intermixed with those of the Gothic, produced a discordant and barbarous assemblage.

After the invention of artillery, the utility of castles ceased. The king and nobility solicited better accommodation and superior elegance. Hampton-court is a standing monument of Wolsey's magnificence. The mansions of gentlemen, however, were still sordid, and the huts of the peasantry poor and wretched. The former were generally thatched buildings composed of timber, or, where wood was scarce, of large posts inserted in the earth, filled up in the interstices with rubbish, plaistered within, and covered on the outside with coarse clay. The latter were slight frames, prepared in the forests at a small expense, and, when erected, covered with mud.

The arts of painting and sculpture were not zealously cultivated in Britain during this period. Italy was a more

genial soil for those pleasing arts; and, even in the Netherlands, they flourished more than in England. To supply the deficiency of native artists, foreigners were employed by persons of taste and opulence. Mabuse, a Flemish painter, was encouraged by Henry VII.; and the celebrated Hans Holbein was long retained in the service of that monarch's son, who also employed Torregiano, a Florentine, in sculpture.

Poetry was cultivated by the courtiers of Henry VIII. as a vehicle of gallantry. The brave but unfortunate earl of Surry had taste to relish the Italian poets, and judgement to reject their affected, though splendid, conceits. His sonnets breathe the unaffected dictates of nature and love. Tenderness predominates in the sentiment, whilst ease and elegance distinguish the language. From these sonnets, the earliest specimens of a polished diction and refined sensibility, succeeding poets discovered the capacity and secret powers of the English tongue. In poetical refinement, the elder Wyat co-operated with Surry.

Some of the poetasters of this period amused themselves with dramatic composition: but the pieces which they produced were not performed on regular theatres. They were chiefly written on religious subjects, and displayed neither the vigour of genius, nor the elegance of poetry.

CHAP. VI.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES. A. D. 1485—1547.

THOUGH *Erasmus* was not a native of Britain, but of Holland, he resided several years in England at different times; and, by his teaching, conversation, and writings, contributed, as much as any man, to inspire a taste for the study of the Roman and Greek classics, the first stage in the restoration of learning. He met with the greatest encouragement from Henry VIII., and all the learned Englishmen of that period. He was one of the most correct and elegant Latin writers among the moderns.

Sir Thomas More, lord-chancellor of England, the great friend and admirer of *Erasmus*, was also a very ingenious and learned man. He was born in 1480; and, before he was nineteen years of age, he had acquired a critical knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and had studied

rhetoric and several other branches of learning with success. When he was about twenty, he became a kind of devotee, fasted frequently, wore a hair-shirt, slept upon boards, and had a great inclination to enter into the Franciscan order. From this, however, he was diverted by his friends; and, in obedience to the commands of his father, who was a respectable judge, he applied to the study of the law. When he was called to the bar, he became conspicuous for the eloquence of his pleadings: and, at the age of twenty-one, he made a distinguished figure as a member of the house of commons. At the accession of Henry VIII., his reputation and business were very great. But, in the midst of the greatest hurry of business, in which the whole day was occupied, he stole time from his sleep to pursue his favourite studies, to correspond with many learned men at home and abroad, and to compose his *Utopia*, a political romance, which was greatly admired. The king was so charmed with his learning and the pleasantry of his conversation, that he sent frequently for him. This was very disagreeable to Sir Thomas, as it consumed too much of his time; and, to avoid this royal interruption, he made use of a stratagem which few would have employed. He affected to be very dull and unentertaining several times successively, and was no more sent for; sacrificing the reputation of a *wit*, and the conversation of a *king*, to save *his time*.

At last, he brought down upon himself all the vengeance of a haughty and overbearing monarch, by opposing his divorce from Catharine of Arragon. This, however, not giving a fair opportunity for open violence, several other accusations were brought against him, but without success, till the act of supremacy was promulgated. He peremptorily refused to take the oath which that statute required, and was therefore (in 1535) condemned to death. His good qualities were degraded by bigotry and intolerance.

Dr. Thomas Linacre was physician to both the Henrys, and the most elegant scholar of his age. He founded two lectures of physic at Oxford, and one at Cambridge. He contributed very much to rescue the healing arts from the wretched state in which he found them, by his strenuous and successful efforts for the re-establishment of the College of Physicians in London, of which he was the first president. When he was advanced in life, he applied to the study of theology, and obtained several preferments in the church. He died in 1524. His virtues were equal to his

abilities. In a word, he was a benefactor to mankind, an honour to literature, and an ornament to human nature. Should such men ever be forgotten?

Dr. John Colet was one of those ingenious men who contributed to the revival of learning in Britain. In 1505, he obtained the deanery of St. Paul's, where, by his preaching and other labours, he greatly advanced the reformation. Having a large estate without any near relatives, he resolved, in the midst of life and health, to consecrate the whole of it to some perpetual benefaction; and this he performed by founding and endowing St. Paul's school, in London. He died in 1519.

William Lily was the first master of St. Paul's school, in which he presided for twelve years with great reputation and success. Among other things, he composed a grammar for the use of that school, which is well known. In this, however, he was assisted by Erasmus, Colet, and Robinson, three of the best linguists in Europe; and it was published with a preface composed by cardinal Wolsey, recommending it to universal use. Of such *importance* did the education of youth in classical learning appear to the greatest men of that age.

Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, was distinguished by his talents and learning. After finishing his academical studies, he went to Italy, where he acquired a taste for poetry. Mr. Warton styles him "one of the distinguished luminaries that marked the restoration of letters in Scotland at the commencement of the sixteenth century." His principal works are, *The Palace of Honour*, and a translation of *Virgil's Æneid* into Scottish heroics. He died in 1522. His countryman, *William Dunbar*, celebrated the marriage of James IV. with Margaret of England, in his *Thistle and Rose*, a very happy allegory, in which the vulgar topics of an epithalamium are judiciously avoided.

Hector Boece, or *Boethius*, "may be justly revered (says Dr. Johnson) as one of the revivers of elegant learning." He was the first president of that college which was founded at Aberdeen by bishop Elphinston. His principal work is a History of Scotland, written in a pleasing Latin style, but not esteemed for accuracy or fidelity of statement.

CHAP. VII.

COMMERCE. A. D. 1485—1547.

THE accession of Henry VII. to the throne of England was an event favourable to commerce, as it put an end to a long and ruinous civil war, which had thrown every thing into confusion, and inflamed the minds of one half of the people with the most violent hatred against the other. The avarice of this prince naturally led him to encourage commerce, which increased his customs. But, if we may judge from most of the laws enacted during his reign, trade and industry were rather hurt, than promoted, by the care and attention given to them. Severe laws were made against taking interest for money, which was then denominated usury. Even the profits of exchange were prohibited, as savouring of usury, which the superstition of the age zealously proscribed. All evasive contracts, by which profits could be made from the loan of money, were also carefully guarded against. These laws must have been very injurious to trade. We may observe, however, to the praise of this king, that sometimes, in order to promote commerce, he lent to merchants sums of money without interest, when he knew that their stock was not sufficient for those enterprises which they had in view.

The government prohibited the exportation of horses, as if the foreign demand for those animals did not encourage the breed, and render them more abundant in the kingdom. In order to promote archery, no bows were to be sold at a higher price than 6s. and 4d. of our present money. The only effect of this regulation must be, either that the people would be supplied with bad bows, or none at all. Prices were also affixed to woollen cloth, caps, and hats; and the wages of labourers were regulated by law. It is evident that these points should be left free in the common course of business and commerce.

In 1492, Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, set out from Spain on his memorable voyage for the discovery of the western world; and, a few years after, Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese, passed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East-Indies. These great events were attended with important consequences to all the nations of Europe, even to such as were not immediately concerned in those naval enterprises. By the enlargement of commerce

and navigation, industry and the arts were every where increased. It was by accident only that Henry VII. had not a considerable share in those great naval discoveries, by which this period was so much distinguished. Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew to London, in order to explain his projects to Henry, and solicit his protection for the execution of them. The king invited him to England; but his brother, being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage, and, in the mean time, Columbus, having obtained the countenance of Isabella, was supplied with a small fleet, and happily executed his enterprise. Henry, not discouraged by this disappointment, sent A. D. 1497. out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, to the westward, in search of new countries. That navigator, after discovering America, returned to England without making any conquest or settlement. Elliot, and other adventurers, made a like attempt in 1502. The king expended 14,000*l.* in building one ship, called the *Great Harry*. She was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy. Before this period, when the prince wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient than hiring or pressing ships from the merchants.

During the reign of Henry VIII. the foreign commerce of England was chiefly confined to the Netherlands. The inhabitants of the Low-Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them into other parts of Europe.

Foreign artificers, in general, much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality; hence arose the violent animosities which the latter, on many occasions, expressed against any of the former who were settled in England. Irritated for want of customers, and moved by the seditious errors of one Dr. Bele, A. D. 1517. and the intrigues of Lincoln, a broker, they raised an insurrection. The apprentices and others of the poorer sort, in London, began by breaking open the prisons, where some persons were confined for insulting foreigners. After committing other outrages, they dispersed; but many of them were apprehended by the earls of Shrewsbury and Surry. A proclamation was issued, that women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that men should keep their wives in their houses. On the following day, the duke of Norfolk came into the city at the head of 1300 armed men, and made enquiry into the tumult. Bele and Lincoln, and

several others, were sent to the Tower, and condemned for treason. Lincoln and thirteen more were executed. The other criminals, to the number of four hundred, being brought before the king, with ropes about their necks, fell on their knees, and cried for mercy. Henry knew at that time how to pardon, and dismissed them without farther punishment.

So great was the number of foreign artisans in the city, that 15,000 Flemings were obliged to leave it, by an order of council, when Henry became jealous of their partiality for queen Catharine. The king declared, in an edict of the star-chamber, that the foreigners starved the natives, and obliged them, from idleness, to have recourse to theft, murder, and other enormities. He also asserted, that the vast multitude of strangers raised the price of grain and bread; and, to prevent an increase of the evil, all foreign artificers were prohibited from having above two foreigners in their houses.

During this reign, about 2000 persons annually suffered death in England for robbery; a greater number than are now executed for those crimes in the space of twenty years. Must there not, then, have been a great improvement in morals since the reign of Henry VIII.? And this improvement has been chiefly owing to the increase of industry and of the arts, which have given maintenance, and, what is almost of equal importance, occupation, to the lower classes.

The silver coins of Henry VII. were shillings or festoons, groats, pennies, and farthings. His gold coins were sovereigns, rials, and nobles. They were all of standard purity. He possessed too much money, and loved it too well, to sink its value by too great a quantity of alloy. Henry VIII., after squandering his father's treasures, issued coins which had only four ounces of silver with eight ounces of alloy in the pound weight. This shameful debasement of the money was one of the most imprudent and pernicious measures of his reign. It was productive of innumerable inconveniences in business; and the restoration of the coin to its standard purity was found to be a work of great difficulty.

CHAP. VIII.

MANNERS. A. D. 1485—1547.

THE best criterion of civilised society is the free intercourse and reciprocal confidence between parents and

their offspring. Domestic manners, however, in this period, were severe and formal. A haughty reserve was affected by the old, and abject deference exacted from the young. Sons, when arrived at manhood, stood uncovered and silent in their father's presence; and daughters, though women, were placed like statues at the cupboard, and not permitted to sit down till their mother departed.

Though those times were magnificent, most of the comforts and conveniences of modern life were unknown. Queen Margaret, on her marriage with James IV., made her public entry into Edinburgh, riding on a pillion behind the king. The halls and chambers of the wealthy were surrounded with hangings of arras, and furnished with a cupboard, long tables, forms, a chair, and a few joint-stools. Their beds were apparently comfortable, and often elegant; but people of inferior condition slept on a mat, or a coarse bed of straw, under a rug, with a log for a pillow.

The large and fantastical head-dresses of the ladies, in the former age, were now superseded by coifs and velvet bonnets. Among gentlemen, long hair was fashionable throughout Europe, till the emperor Charles V. devoted his locks for his health; and, in England, Henry, a tyrant even in taste, gave efficacy to the fashion by a peremptory order for his attendants and courtiers to poll their heads. The same spirit induced him, by sumptuary laws, to regulate the inordinate dress of his subjects. Cloth of gold or tissue was reserved for dukes and marquises, and that of a purple colour for the royal family. Silks and velvets were restricted to commoners of wealth and distinction, and embroidery was forbidden to all beneath the degree of an earl. Cuffs for the sleeves, and ruffs for the neck, were the inventions of this period. Pockets, a convenience unknown to the ancients, are perhaps the latest real improvement on dress: but, instead of pockets, a loose pouch seems to have been sometimes suspended from the girdle.

The cookery of these times exhibited a profusion of hot spices, with which every dish was seasoned. At entertainments, the rank of each guest was discriminated by his situation above or below the saltcellar, which was placed invariably in the middle of the table; and the usher was instructed to displace such as might seat themselves above their betters. The chief servants always attended above the saltcellar, beneath which the table was crowded with poor dependents, whom the guests despised, and the servants neg-

lected. Churchmen affected peculiar ceremony, and the abbot of St. Alban's dined with greater state than the nobility. His table was elevated fifteen steps above the hall, and, in serving his dinner, the monks, at every fifth step, performed a hymn. He dined alone at the middle of his table, to the ends of which the guests of distinguished rank were admitted; and the monks, after attending the abbot, were served with equal respect by the novices. At Wolsey's entertainment of the French ambassadors, the company was summoned by trumpet to supper, and the courses were announced by a prelude of music.

CHAP. IX.

INCIDENTS AND CURIOUS PARTICULARS. A. D. 1485—1547.

IN 1485, Henry VII., on the day of his coronation, established fifty yeomen of the guard, the first standing army.

In 1500, there happened so great a plague in England, that it obliged the king and court to remove to Calais, and carried off upwards of 30,000 people in London.

In 1529, the name of Protestant took its rise from the reformed *protesting* against the church of Rome, at the diet of Spire in Germany.

In 1544, good lands were let at one shilling per acre. Commodities, however, were not cheap in proportion, chiefly in consequence of the bad husbandry of that age.

In 1546, a law was made for fixing the interest of money at 10 per cent. This was the first legal interest known in England. Formerly all acts of that nature were regarded as usurious. The preamble of this very law treats the practice of receiving interest for money, as illegal and criminal; and the prejudices still remained so strong, that the law permitting interest was repealed in the following reign.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY, FROM THE DEATH OF KING HENRY VIII. IN 1547, TO THAT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, IN 1603.

AS Henry's son Edward was only in his tenth year when he succeeded to the throne, the regency was settled in the person of his uncle the earl of Hertford, afterwards duke of Somerset, a declared friend of the reformation. Much of the popish leaven, however, still remained in the council. The government was embroiled at once with France and Scotland. As soon as affairs at home were brought to some degree of composure, the protector marched to the northward, with 18,000 men, in order to execute, if possible, the project of uniting the two British kingdoms by a marriage between Edward and Mary Stewart, the young queen of Scotland, an union which Henry had recommended with his dying breath. But the queen dowager's attachment to France and the catholic religion rendering the negotiation ineffectual, a desperate battle was fought near Musselburgh, in which 10,000 of the Scots were killed.

The reformation was not effected without public disturbances. The common people, during the reigns of Henry and Edward, being deprived of the great relief they had received from the religious houses, repeatedly took up arms, but without effect. Dudley, earl of Warwick, quelled one of these insurrections; and he afterwards drove the protector from the helm, and sacrificed that nobleman to his ambition.

The reformation, through the zeal of Cranmer and others, made rapid progress. In some cases, they lost sight of that moderation which the reformers had before so strongly recommended; and some sanguinary executions, on account of religion, took place. Edward's youth excuses him from blame; while his charitable endowments, as Bridewell, St. Thomas's Hospital, and several schools, which still exist and flourish, shew the goodness of his heart. He died of a consumption, in 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age.

Edward, on his death-bed, from his zeal for religion, made a very unconstitutional will, excluding his sister Mary

from the succession, which he transferred to Jane Grey, grand-daughter to a sister of Henry VIII. This accomplished and amiable young lady reluctantly complied with the desire of her father-in-law, the earl of Warwick, who, under the title of duke of Northumberland, governed the king and the kingdom; but the nation supported the claim of the princess Mary; and lady Jane, her husband, and the duke, were put to death by the new queen.

Mary, being thus settled on the throne, suppressed an insurrection under Wyat, and proceeded, like a female fury, to re-establish popery. She lighted up the flames of persecution, to which she consigned the most illustrious reformers. Her husband, Philip II. of Spain, was, like herself, an unfeeling bigot; and the chief praise of her reign is, that, by the marriage-articles, provision was made for the independence of the English crown. By the assistance of troops, which she sent to her husband, he gained the important battle of St. Quintin; but that victory was so ill improved, that the French, under the duke of Guise, soon after took Calais. This loss is said to have broken Mary's heart, who died in 1558, in the forty-third year of her age.

Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, now ascended the throne amidst the effusions of general joy; but, as her mother's marriage was deemed unlawful by all catholics, Mary, queen of Scotland, grand-child to a daughter of Henry VII., considered her own claim as preferable. This rivalry gave great displeasure to Elizabeth, who, as she could with difficulty bear the thoughts of a successor, could still less endure the idea of a rival.

Mary, after her return to Scotland, on the death of her husband, Francis II., gave her hand to lord Darnley. This choice was injudicious and unfortunate; for he had not those talents or that good sense which would have rendered him an useful associate in the task of government, and was fickle, ungrateful, dissolute, and unprincipled. Perceiving a decline in the queen's affection for him, and suspecting her of an improper regard for Riccio, a Piedmontese musician, he promoted the murder of the obnoxious foreigner, and thus roused in her breast all the bitterness of resentment. His own death soon followed that of the supposed favorite. He was suddenly blown up in a house to which he had retired for the recovery of his health; and it is not certainly known whether the earl of Murray, and other enemies of the queen, planned his destruction with a view

of imputing the crime to her, or she herself was guilty of the atrocious act. The earl of Bothwell was tried for the murder; but his influence procured an acquittal; and he had the audacity to carry off the queen to the castle of Dunbar, where he accomplished his amorous wishes. He now obtained a divorce from his wife; and the imprudent princess condescended to marry him.

Some attempts made by Bothwell (and, it is said, with the queen's consent) to get her infant son into his power, excited the most serious attention; and an association was formed for protecting the prince, and punishing the murderers of Darnley. Armies were raised on both sides; and Mary, being taken prisoner, was sent to the castle of Lochleven. Bothwell found means to make his escape into Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and at length died miserably.

Many schemes were proposed by the associated lords for the treatment of the captive queen. The result was, that they obliged her to sign an instrument, by which she resigned her crown in favour of her son, and appointed the earl of Murray regent. In consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI.

The queen, finding it impossible to remain in her own kingdom with honor or dignity, embraced the resolution of seeking refuge in England, where she expected, from the repeated declarations of Elizabeth, protection and security. But she did not adopt this determination before she had been defeated by the regent at Langside, whence she fled into Cumberland. The English queen, unfaithful to her professions, detained the unhappy fugitive for eighteen years: she then brought her to trial, pretending that Mary aimed at the crown, and, without sufficient proof of her guilt, put her to death;—an action which greatly tarnished the glories of her reign, and which reflects indelible disgrace on her memory.

As to Elizabeth's affairs with Spain, which formed in fact the main business of her government, they exhibit different scenes of remarkable events, partly arising from her own masterly conduct, partly from the sagacity of her statesmen, and partly from the intrepidity of her forces by sea and land.

The same Philip, who had been the husband of her late sister, upon the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, offered

to marry her; but she dexterously avoided his addresses; and, by a train of skilful negotiations between her court and that of France, kept the balance of Europe so undetermined, that she had leisure to unite her people at home, and to establish an excellent internal policy. But, as the king of Spain could not always be imposed upon by her arts, he made use of the immense sums which he drew from Peru and Mexico, in equipping one of the most formidable armaments that had ever been put to sea, and a numerous army of veterans, under the prince of Parma, the best general of that age. The most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious of sharing in the enterprise; and so elated were the Spaniards with vain hopes, that they denominated their navy *The Invincible Armada*. Lord Howard, however, and the brave sea-officers under him, engaged this formidable fleet, put it to flight, and chased it for several days; and, had not their ammunition fallen short, they would have obliged the whole armada to surrender at discretion. An event, however, almost equally fatal to the Spaniards, soon happened. A violent tempest overtook them after they had passed the Orkneys; and many of the ships were driven either on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were wrecked, so that not one half of them returned to Spain. Such was the miserable and disgraceful conclusion of an enterprise, which had nearly exhausted the revenue and force of Spain, and had long filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation.

The queen's support of the rising republic of Holland was connected with the Spanish war. Of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, seven revolted in consequence of the stern bigotry and inhuman tyranny of Philip; and the insurgents were seasonably supplied with money and troops from England. Elizabeth also assisted Henry IV. of France against the encroaching ambition of the Spanish despot, who wished to make himself the arbiter of Europe.

The discomfiture of the armada having begotten a kind of enthusiastic passion for enterprises against the Spaniards, several expeditions were undertaken, in order to invade their territories in Europe and America, and many of their rich ships were captured. In some of these expeditions, the command was given to the earl of Essex, who, by his exterior accomplishments and real merit, was daily advancing in favour with Elizabeth. His passion for glory made him desire a continuance of the war, and he encouraged the queen in the

prosecution of it. The rivalry between this nobleman and lord Burghley, induced each to insist the more strenuously on his own counsels; but, as the earl's person was agreeable to the queen, and his advice conformable to her inclinations, he seemed daily to acquire an increase of influence. Had he been endowed with caution and self-command, equal to his shining qualities, he could scarcely have had a rival in the queen's confidence. But his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit deference, which Elizabeth's temper required.

As Elizabeth advanced in life, she became distrustful, peevish, and jealous. Though she undoubtedly loved the earl of Essex, she teized him by her capricious temper into the madness of taking up arms, and then put him to death. Soon after, she fell into a profound melancholy, which all the advantages of her high fortune, and all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable to alleviate. This depression of mind was attributed to various causes; but the most probable was a revival of her tenderness for Essex, occasioned by the protracted delivery of a ring, which she had formerly given to him as an evidence of her continued regard. She died in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

This princess understood the art of reigning in an eminent degree. Her wise ministers and brave warriors share the praise of her success; but they owed their advancement to her choice, were supported by her constancy, and, with all their abilities, could never acquire an undue ascendancy over her. In her family, in her court, and in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress. The force of the tender passions was great over her, but the force of her mind was still superior. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are struck with the highest admiration of her great qualities and extensive capacity, while we also require more softness of disposition, greater lenity of temper, and some of those amiable weaknesses by which her sex is distinguished.

CHAP. II.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. A. D. 1547—1603.

THE reformation was much forwarded by the decease of the capricious Henry, and the accession of the amiable and virtuous Edward. It had, on its side, the affection of

the young king, whose education was totally in the hands of reformers, the wise counsels of Cranmer, the firm and bold arguments, delivered from the pulpits of Latimer, Hooper, and other celebrated preachers, as well as the good will of the people in general.

Bishop Gardiner, however, in the royal chapel, though requested not to speak on controversial subjects, warmly supported the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament. The effect of this ill-judged rhapsody was grossly indecent. The two parties, in the church, and before the king, respectively uttered loud and vehement cries, to encourage or insult the preacher. The impolitic orator, on his leaving the rostrum, was committed to prison; nor had his eloquence any effect on the well-instructed mind of the young monarch.

When Mary ascended the throne, the people had reason to dread the effects of that bigoted attachment to popery, which she had imbibed from her mother, Catharine of Arragon. By the medium of cardinal Pole, she absolved the two houses of parliament from those protestant errors which had *corrupted the purity* of the catholic faith; and she assented with joy to a bill which repealed the heretical laws enacted by her late brother.

The affairs of administration in matters of religion were now chiefly conducted by Gardiner and Pole. The latter was not a stranger to candour and moderation; but the persecuting spirit of Gardiner being consonant with the cruel bigotry of Mary and Philip, the laws were let loose in their full rigour against the reformed religion, and England was soon filled with scenes of horror. The persecutors began with Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, a man eminent for virtue and learning, who was burned in Smithfield. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, was sent to that city to undergo the same fate. Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was likewise burned in his own diocese. The prelates Ridley and Latimer perished together in the same flames at Oxford. During the course of three years, it is computed that two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake, and the imprisonments, fines, and confiscations, were almost without number. Those who died at the stake may justly be called *Martyrs*; and they all died with calmness and intrepidity, avowing, even while their sinews were shrinking, and their flesh consuming by the flames, their entire resignation to the

will of Heaven, and their triumphant joy in the cause for which they suffered.

The death of archbishop Cranmer would have been more generally lamented, if he had not, by his own example, given countenance to the horrible practice of religious murder. Still cherishing the natural love of life, and terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him; he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy and of the real presence. The court, however, at once perfidious and cruel, determined that his concession should not avail him, and ordered him to be immediately carried to execution. Cranmer, repenting of what he had done, in the flames atoned for his frailty, by holding forth his right hand till it was entirely consumed, calling aloud several times, *This hand has offended*.

On the death of her sister, Elizabeth did not hesitate with regard to the party she should embrace. Her education, as well as her interest, led her to favour the reformation. She delayed the change of religion till the meeting of the parliament; and then, after her right of succession to the throne was settled, such acts were passed as tended to the establishment of the protestant religion. Having ordered that the gospels and epistles, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments, should be read in English in all places of worship, Elizabeth soon found how pleasing these directions appeared to the generality of her people, and particularly to the inhabitants of the metropolis. Among other tokens, it was remarked, that, as she went in procession under a triumphal arch erected by the city of London, she was presented, by a cherub descending from above, in the character of Truth, with an English copy of the Bible: she received it most graciously, kissed it, and placed it in her bosom.

The translation of the Bible into English was, at this juncture, oddly recommended to the queen by one Rainsford, a protestant whom she had released, who implored her pity for four other prisoners, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Elizabeth, not displeased at the quaint idea, smiled, and told him, that she must first enquire whether *these captives* wished to be released.

When the oath of supremacy was tendered to the bishops of Mary's appointment, all, except Kitchen of Llandaff, refused it, and lost their sees. Heath, Tonstal, and Thirlby,

were treated with great kindness; the first was exiled to his own estate, where the queen frequently visited him; the other two lived at Lambeth, with their hospitable friend archbishop Parker. White and Watson, being sullen, were kept for some time in confinement; and Bonner, the most barbarous and brutal of all the persecutors, passed the rest of his days in prison. Not a drop of blood was shed in revenge for Mary's enormities; and, beside the transfer of the church-lands to the new prelates, not one estate was confiscated.

To settle the religion of the nation, to translate the Scriptures into English, and to regulate the ecclesiastical courts, were great objects, which the new constellation of bishops earnestly endeavoured to compass. The translation of the Bible was allotted to various eminent divines, who accomplished it in the space of two years.

About this time, the heads of the protestant party in Scotland entered privately into a bond of association for their mutual protection and the propagation of their tenets, styling themselves the *Congregation of the Lord*, in contradiction to the established church, which they denominated the *Congregation of Satan*. The converts to the new religion, resenting the murder of Wishart, a conscientious and popular divine, whom cardinal Beaton had committed to the flames, rejoiced in the death of the inhuman prelate, who was assassinated by a son of the earl of Rothes; and, when the primate Hamilton had dared to follow the example of the cardinal, they resolved to check such enormities by an open insurrection. Encouraged by the zeal of John Knox, who had imbibed, at Geneva, the presbyterian doctrines, they demanded, on pain of hostility, the immediate convocation of a parliament, for the settlement of the affairs of religion. Having mounted the pulpit at Perth, Knox declaimed with such vehemence against the idolatry and other abuses of the church of Rome, that his auditors were strongly incited to attempt its subversion. During those movements of holy indignation, the indiscreet bigotry of a priest, who was preparing to celebrate mass, and had opened all his repository of images and relics, hurried the enthusiastic populace into immediate action. They fell with fury upon the devout catholic, broke the images, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, and scattered about the sacred vases. They next proceeded to the monasteries, against which their zeal more particularly pointed its thunder. Not content with expelling

the monks, and defacing every implement of idolatrous worship, they vented their rage upon the buildings which had been the receptacles of such abomination; and, in a few hours, those superb edifices were level with the ground.

In 1560, the parliament of Scotland was perfectly disposed to establish the protestant faith. Petitions in favour of reformation were kindly received, and the few catholics who sat in the house, seeing their party very weak, chose to be silent. The papal authority being abolished, and the service forbidden to be read in Latin, a Calvinistic confession of faith was adopted; but so little had the protestant Scots learned to profit by the odious appearance of that persecution which had martyred their brethren, that one of their new laws enacted death, as a punishment for a third offence against the new directions for church-worship.

CHAP. III.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT. A. D. 1547—1603.

THE despotism of Henry VIII. was succeeded by a kind of nerveless aristocracy. A few potent noblemen, during the reign of Edward, struggled for power and profit, and left the people to be plundered and ruined by bribed senators and iniquitous judges. Edward undoubtedly had good dispositions; but, except the spirited Latimer, who attempted by his plain but satirical discourses to open his eyes, he seemed hardly to have a single person about him who was not ready to support the prevailing system of corruption. The mildness of Cranmer rendered his advice ineffectual; and the duke of Somerset was governed by his wife, the vainest of women.

The corruption of the judges, though connived at by the great, could not escape the severe animadversions of Latimer, in his sermons before the king. "Now-a-days," says he, "the judges are afraid to hear a poor man against the rich; they will either pronounce against him, or delay the suit, so that he shall not be able to go through with it. But the greatest man in the realm cannot hurt the judge so much as a poor widow." He then relates the story of a judge who was flayed alive for taking bribes, and whose skin was nailed to a chair for future judges to sit in. "The magistrates," adds he, "shew favour to some, and will not suffer them to be put to shame."—"Oh! he is such an one's servant, I must

not meddle with him. He is a great man, I dare not displease him."—"Fie upon thee! art thou a judge, and wilt thou be afraid to give right judgement? Fear him not, be he ever so great a man; but take care to do true justice."

The tyrannical laws against high treason, instituted under Henry the Eighth, were abolished by Edward. But this young and virtuous prince having soon passed away, the blood-thirsty Mary astonished the world with her cruelties.

In the long and glorious reign of Elizabeth, England began to breathe anew; and the protestant religion, being once more established, brought with it more freedom and toleration. The star-chamber, that effectual instrument of the tyranny of the two Henries, yet continued to exist; the inquisitorial tribunal of the high commission was even instituted; and the yoke of arbitrary power lay still heavy on the subject. This, however, was rendered tolerable by the brilliancy of the reign, and the affection of the people for a princess whose splendid talents rendered her worthy of being ranked among the greatest sovereigns.

The established principles of the times, which attributed to the prince such an unlimited power as was supposed to be the origin of all law, were unfavourable to liberty. The homilies, published for the use of the clergy, inculcate a blind and passive obedience to the sovereign; and Dr. Gifford was suspended in 1584, for preaching up a limited obedience to the civil magistrate. It is remarkable that, throughout the historical plays of Shakespeare, in which the manners, and characters, and even the transactions, of the several reigns, are so exactly copied, there is scarcely any mention of *civil liberty*. In the elaborate panegyric of England, contained in the tragedy of Richard II., and the detail of its advantages, we have not a word of its civil constitution, as different from, or superior to, that of other European kingdoms. It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and, spreading themselves under the shelter of puritanical absurdities, became fashionable among the people.

Queen Elizabeth herself, indeed, was no friend to liberty, but watchfully checked those faint dawnings of its splendour, which occasionally pervaded the gloom of despotism; nor was the administration of justice in her time calculated to secure either life or property. Dr. Hayward having dedicated a book to the earl of Essex, the queen, supposing it to contain treason, and suspecting that it was not written

by himself, but by a more mischievous person, asked Sir Francis Bacon, whether he ought not to be racked, to make him produce the author? To which his lordship replied, "Nay, madam, he is a doctor; never rack his person, but rack his style. Let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and let him be enjoined to continue the story where it breaks off; and I will undertake, by collating the styles, to judge whether he were the author or no." Thus, had it not been for Bacon's humanity, or rather his wit, Dr. Hayward would have been put to the rack for a most innocent performance. His real offence was his dedicating a book to that munificent patron of the learned, the earl of Essex, at a time when this nobleman lay under her majesty's displeasure. The queen's menace of trying and punishing this author for treason, could have been easily executed, however innocent the book might have been. While so many terrors hung over the people, no jury durst have acquitted a man, when the court was resolved to have him condemned. The practice also of not confronting witnesses with the prisoner, gave the crown-lawyers all imaginable advantage against him.

CHAP. IV.

LITERATURE. A. D. 1547—1603.

THOUGH the English language was much neglected in the middle of the sixteenth century, great attention was bestowed on ecclesiastical knowledge; nor was any rank deemed so exalted as to exclude the necessity of a thorough acquaintance with the learned tongues. Four successive sovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, might justly be styled proficient in literature. To an address of the university of Cambridge, written in Greek, Queen Elizabeth made an extemporary reply in the same language; and she translated into English the orations of Isocrates. She gave a spirited answer in Latin, without premeditation, to the Polish ambassador, who had been deficient in respect to her. When she had finished, she turned to her courtiers, and said, with great emotion, "I have been forced this day to scour up my old Latin, that had long been rusting." Elizabeth, even after she was queen, did not entirely relinquish the ambition of appearing as an author; and, next to her desire for the homage of men to her beauty, this seems to have been

the chief object of her vanity. She translated Boetius, on the *Consolation of Philosophy*, in order to allay her grief, because Henry IV. of France had changed his religion. As far as we can judge from Elizabeth's compositions, we may pronounce, that, notwithstanding her application and excellent parts, her taste in literature was not very elegant or refined.

The queen's example had very great influence. The advantages of learning gradually became as much the property of the laity as of the clergy; and, soon after the reign of this interesting princess, men attained to that state of general improvement, in which they have ever since made progressive advances.

In the age of Elizabeth, learning was the passport to the most honourable and lucrative situations. Sir Thomas Smith was raised from a professorship at Cambridge to be, first, ambassador to France, and afterwards secretary of state. The dispatches of those times, and, among others, those of lord Burghley, are frequently interrupted by quotations from the Greek and Latin classics. Even the ladies of the court were adepts in literature, and valued themselves more on their erudition than on their rank and quality.

CHAP. V.

THE ARTS. A. D. 1547—1603.

ON the art of *agriculture* we need only observe, that the general stock of aliment was now increased by the discovery of potatoes. Captain Hawkins is said to have brought this excellent root from Santa Fé, in New Spain, in 1565. Sir Walter Raleigh soon after planted it on his lands in Ireland; but, on eating the apple, which is nauseous and unwholesome, he had nearly consigned the whole crop to destruction. The spade, however, discovered the real potatoe, and the root soon became a favourite eatable. It continued, for a long time, to be thought rather a species of dainty than of provision, and it was not supposed capable of preserving the country where it was fostered from the attacks of famine.

The land of England was, at this time, both cheap and productive. The good bishop Latimer has given the following account of the produce of a small farm: "My father," says he, "was a yeoman, and had a farm of three or four

pounds a-year, upon which he tilled enough to keep half a dozen men. He had pasture for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty cows. He kept his son at school till he went to the university, married *his daughters with five pounds a-piece*, kept hospitality with his neighbours, and gave some alms to the poor; and all this he did out of the said farm."

A mixed system of *architecture* was adopted towards the close of the sixteenth century, the finest example of which was Theobalds, the magnificent seat of the lord Burghley, Elizabeth's secretary. Hatfield-house owes its origin to the same great minister, and Osterley-house to the patriotic sir Thomas Gresham, who built the Royal Exchange, which was destroyed by the fire of London, in 1666. It was at Osterley that the opulence and gallantry of sir Thomas rivaled the wonders of romance. Elizabeth had visited the superb mansion, and, on quitting the window to go to bed, had remarked aloud, "How much more handsome the court-yard would appear if divided by a wall." The words were caught by sir Thomas, who instantly, on quitting the royal presence, sent hastily to his masons and bricklayers, assisted them with a number of labourers, worked all night, and completed the wall according to the queen's wishes, before she rose in the morning. The courtiers, chagrined at the knight's alertness, consoled themselves by remarking, that it "was no wonder he could so soon change a building, who could build a *"Change."*

Houses, in general, were built of strong timber. "In times past," says Holinshed, "men were contented to dwell in houses built of willow; but when our houses were built of willow, then had we oaken men; but now that our houses are made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but a great many altogether straw. In these the courage of the owner was a sufficient defence to keep the house in safety; but now the assurance of the timber must defend the men from being robbed."

With regard to *sculpture*, some good medals were struck, during Elizabeth's reign, on great public occasions, particularly that on the defeat of the Spanish armada, of which the motto, ascribing the victory to Divine Providence, is admirable: *Afflavit Deus, et dissipantur*. "God raised a storm, and our enemies were scattered."

Painting lay dormant in England during the short reign of Edward VI. Under Mary it was enlivened by the presence

of Antonio More, a native of Utrecht, who was sent over to London, that he might paint the portrait of the intended bride of the Spanish Philip. For this work he had a hundred pounds, a gold chain, knighthood, and a pension of a hundred pounds per quarter, as painter to their majesties. Elizabeth encouraged painting, because she was never tired of seeing portraits of herself. A pale Roman nose, a head of hair loaded with pearls and powdered with diamonds, a large ruff, a still larger farthingale, and a bushel of pearls, are the features by which we recognize Elizabeth.

With regard to *poetry*, we may observe, that the sanguinary measures which Henry VIII. pursued in his domestic policy, threw a cloud over the studies of the nation, which the barbarities of his daughter Mary rendered yet darker, and which was not dispelled till the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. Then the *muse*, always the first in the train of literature, ventured once more to expand her wings, and Chaucer found a successor worthy of himself in the celebrated Spenser. The principal work of this poet is named the *Fairy Queen*. It is of the heroic kind, and was intended as a compliment to Elizabeth and her courtiers. But, instead of employing historical characters for that purpose, like Virgil, the most refined flatterer, if not the finest poet of antiquity, Spenser makes use of allegorical personages; a choice which has contributed to consign to neglect one of the most poetical compositions that genius ever produced: for the descriptions in the *Fairy Queen* are generally bold and striking, or soft and captivating; the language is nervous and elegant, while the versification is harmonious and flowing.

Shakespeare, the father of our drama, was more happy in his department of composition. He wandered in pursuit of universal nature. The glancings of his eye are from Heaven to earth, from earth to Heaven. We behold him, however, breaking the barriers of all method. In the same scene, he descends from his meridian of the noblest tragic sublimity, to puns and quibbles, to the meanest merriments of a plebeian farce. In the midst of his dignity, he resembles his own Richard II. the *skipping king*, who, sometimes, discarding the state of a monarch,

"Mingled his royalty with carping fools."

He seems not to have seen any impropriety in the most abrupt transitions, from dukes to buffoons, and from kings to clowns.

No satires, properly so called, were written till near the close of the queen's reign. Pictures drawn at large of the vices of the times, did not suit readers who loved to wander in the regions of artificial manners. The muse, like the people, was too solemn and reserved, too ceremonious and pedantic, to stoop to common life. Satire is the poetry of a nation highly polished.

During the latter part of this period, a knowledge of *music* appears to have been an indispensable accomplishment in domestic life. "Being at a banquet," says Morley, "after supper was ended, and music-books were brought to table, the mistress of the house, according to custom, presented me with a part, earnestly intreating me to sing. After many excuses, I protested that I could not, when every one began to wonder, and some whispered to others, enquiring how I had been brought up." Elizabeth herself performed with some skill on the lute, as well as on the virginals, an ill-shaped clumsy box, much inferior to a spinnet, both in loudness and sweetness. She loved also to hear loud music, and used to listen during her meals to "twelve trumpets and two kettle-drums, which, together with fifes, cornets, and side-drums, made the hall ring for half an hour together."

CHAP. VI.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES. A. D. 1547—1603.

JOHN LELAND, the first and last antiquary royal in England, died in 1552. He was bred under William Lily, and studied successively at Cambridge, Oxford, and Paris. He searched cathedrals and religious houses for curious records and secrets of antiquity, in which employment he spent six years, visiting every county in the kingdom. His *Collectanea* and *Itinerary*, the manuscripts of which are in the Bodleian collection, are very valuable performances. Upon the whole, he may not unjustly be styled the father of the English antiquaries.

Roger Ascham, who was born in 1515, and bred at St. John's college, Cambridge, distinguished himself so highly by his excellence in the Greek and Latin tongues, that Henry VIII. and Edward VI. successively allowed him a pension to enable him to travel. In 1548, he was appointed tutor to

Elizabeth, with whom he read most of Cicero's works, the orations of Isocrates, the plays of Sophocles, and other ancient authors. After being employed in this honourable manner for two years, he returned to Cambridge, where he filled the office of public orator with great reputation. But his attachment to dice and cock-fighting kept him miserably poor. This poverty is noticed by Buchanan, in an epigram, which has been charged with displaying more wit than friendship. Ascham had the singular good fortune, that, though known to be a protestant, he escaped the anger of queen Mary, and even enjoyed her favours. Elizabeth, when she heard of his death, exclaimed, that she would rather have lost ten thousand pounds! This was a strong testimony of the good-will of that economical princess. His talents were so blended with activity, that he wrote for Mary, in the space of three days, letters to forty-seven persons, of whom the meanest was a cardinal. His Latin epistles have been frequently printed, and are admired by all good judges of composition. He died in 1569.

Sir John Cheke, born in 1514, after being bred at St. John's college, was elected Greek professor at Cambridge. In 1544, his reputation was so high, that he was appointed to be one of the tutors to prince Edward, who, being himself a surprising scholar, had the highest sense of his preceptor's merit. After the immature death of this amiable monarch, *sir John* took part with the unfortunate lady Jane Grey. As a protestant and patriot, he could not do otherwise. When lady Jane was crowned, he acted as her secretary during the nine days of her reign. For this he was confined in the Tower, and deprived of a great part of his property. In 1554, he was set at liberty, and went abroad, but his estate was confiscated. Some time after, he was seized at Brussels, and conveyed to Antwerp, whence he was sent to London, and again committed to the Tower, where he was attended by some of the clergy, who candidly told him, that he must either recant or go to the stake. *Sir John* had not fortitude for the latter, and therefore signed his abjuration, and was received into the bosom of the Catholic church. We may pity the weakness of the man; but who can answer for himself in so trying a case? For the present he saved his life; but who was to restore him his peace? Mortified beyond expression, he was obliged to be present at the examination of heretics, upon almost every occasion;—a bondage, to a generous mind, much worse than death! He did

not long survive this extreme vexation, but died of grief, in 1557.

About the same time flourished *Thomas Tusser*, a pleasant poet, as well as a good farmer, whose Georgics may be read without disgust by those who have studied the works of Hesiod, or even of the Mantuan bard. His work is entitled, "Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry." His directions are entertaining, as they shew the customs of his age; and, from the antiquity of his diction, he may be styled the English Varro. The directions which he gives for the culture of a hop-garden, are remarkably judicious, and finish thus:

"The hop, for its profit, I thus do exalt,
"It strengtheneth drink, and it savoreth malt,
"And, being well-brew'd, long kept it will last,
"And drawing abide, if you draw not too fast."

The vicissitudes of this man's life were remarkable. After acting as a chorister in the royal chapel, and at St. Paul's cathedral, he studied at Eton school and at the university of Cambridge; and, in the subsequent course of his life, he became, by turns, musician, farmer, grazier, and poet. Without a tincture of careless imprudence, or vicious extravagance, this desultory character seems to have thrived in no vocation. Fuller says, that his stone, *which gathered no moss*, was the stone of Sisyphus. His plough and his poetry were alike unprofitable.

Sir Thomas Pope, who died in 1558, was an eminent statesman as well as a polite scholar, and the founder of Trinity college, Oxford. Employed by Thomas Cromwell in overseeing the dissolution of religious houses, he acted with singular candour and moderation, and amassed a splendid fortune without staining his private character. He was not only steady, but wonderfully fortunate, if it be true, that, in the four last reigns of the Tudor dynasty, he never changed his faith, and yet retained the favour of his sovereigns. To him the abbey at St. Alban's owes its exemption from ruin and demolition. Mary employed him to watch over Elizabeth; a delicate task, which he yet performed so as neither to excite suspicion in the queen, nor resentment in her sister.

Sir Philip Sidney, an accomplished statesman, general, and poet, was born in 1554, and died in 1586. He was employed on several embassies by queen Elizabeth, who had a great esteem for him. He served with great reputation in

the Netherlands, with the troops sent by the queen to assist the states; and fell in the service of his country. This amiable man was equally the delight of Elizabeth's court and army, as his person and endowments were only equaled by his valour and humanity. After his thigh-bone had been broken by a musquet-shot, in the agony of his wound he called for water. Some was brought to him; but, as he was lifting it to his lips, the ghastly looks of a dying soldier struck his eye. "Take this," said he, holding the cup to him: "*thy necessity is yet greater than mine.*" He died with the resignation of a saint: and so general was the grief for his loss, that it was looked upon as *a sin* to appear in gay clothes at court for several months after. As a writer, Sidney appears rather a man of great literature than of bright genius. His *Arcadia*, so highly admired in that age, is now little esteemed.

Edmund Spenser, a celebrated poet, whose fame is immortalised by the *Shepherd's Calendar* and the *Fairy Queen*, was born in London, and educated at Pembroke-college, Cambridge. His animated lines on Despair gained him the patronage of sir Philip Sidney, when he was appointed poet-laureate to Elizabeth; but, for some time, he only wore the barren laurel, possessing the place without the pension. The queen was so well pleased with one of his poems, that she ordered him a hundred pounds for it. "What!" said the economical Burghley, "all this for a song?"—"Give him then what is reason," said the queen, who had already repented of her generosity. Spenser, to whom this conversation had been communicated, waited for some time with patience, but at length presented his petition:

"I was promis'd, on a time, to have reason for my rhyme;
"From that time unto this season, I've receiv'd nor rhyme nor reason."

The queen perused the sarcastic complaint, frowned on the minister, and ordered the money to be paid. Soon after, fortune smiled on our bard. He married a rich wife, was made secretary of Ireland, and had a large grant of land. Desmond's revolt, however, proved his ruin. His plantations were destroyed, his house and one of his children were burned, and he was forced to flee into England. Even thither misfortune accompanied him. Sidney was no more; and Spenser, who had no other patron, is believed to have languished and died in actual penury, in 1598. The following lines, in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, are supposed to have given disgust to lord Burghley.

"Full little dost thou know that hast not tried,
"What hell it is in suing long to bide;
"To speed to-day; to be put back to-morrow;
"To feed on hope; to pine with fear and sorrow;
"To have thy prince's grace, yet want her peers;
"To gain thy asking, yet wait many years;
"To fret thy soul with crosses and with care;
"To eat thy heart with comfortless despair;
"To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
"To spend, to give, to want, to be undone."

William Shakespeare, the great poet of nature, was descended of a reputable family, at Stratford upon Avon, where his father carried on the wool-trade. He was born in 1564, and educated at the free-school in Stratford, but was taken early from school, and employed in his father's business. At seventeen years of age he married, and was a parent before he was out of his minority. Having become acquainted with some persons who followed the practice of deer-stealing, he was prevailed upon to engage with them in robbing Sir Thomas Lucy's park. The injury being repeated, that gentleman was provoked to commence a prosecution against the delinquents; and Shakespeare, in revenge, made him the subject of a ballad, which, tradition says, was pointed with so much bitterness, that he found it necessary to quit the country. From Warwickshire he came up to London, where he enlisted among the players; but he never made any figure as an actor; and Mr. Rowe says, that his highest character was the ghost in his own Hamlet. He, therefore, directed his genius to the composition of dramatic pieces, which at first he adapted chiefly to the lower classes; but, when his performances had gained the approbation of the queen, and the full protection of the court, he composed more polished pieces. Soon after the accession of James I., he became a theatrical manager, and continued so for several years; till, having acquired a good fortune, he quitted the business of the stage, and spent the remainder of his days at Stratford, where he died in 1616. He was interred in the great church of that town, where a handsome monument was erected for him. In 1740, another very noble one was raised to his memory in Westminster-Abbey, the chief expense of which was defrayed by the profits arising from the performance of his tragedy of Julius Cæsar. His judgement in managing the incidents, selected from such historical books or romances as fell in his way, is equal to that boldness of invention which he displayed when he relied upon his own strength.

In Scotland, the elegant *Mary Stuart* set a bright example to her subjects in literary attainments. Not content with light and graceful accomplishments, with which the court of Catharine de Medicis could supply her, she studied the dead languages; and, at a very early age, astonished the king and court by pronouncing an oration, composed by herself, in classical Latin. Her skill in poetry was great, and her elegiac compositions were truly affecting.

James Crichton, a descendant from the ancient Scottish kings, of whom so many wonderful things are recorded as to have procured him the name of "The admirable Crichton," was born in Perthshire, and educated at St. Andrew's. Before he was twenty years of age, he had gone through the whole circle of the sciences, and was, besides, an accomplished gentleman. He now began his travels, and, reaching Paris, challenged all the learned men to dispute with him in any art or science, and in any language, ancient or modern. When he had managed this disputation with great success, from nine in the morning till six at night, the professors presented him with a diamond-ring and a purse of gold. The next day he went to a tilting-match, and, in presence of the court, gained the prize fifteen times. Thence he went to Rome, where he ably disputed in the presence of the pope and the cardinals. At Venice, he obtained a complete victory over the followers of Aristotle. At Mantua, in 1583, this bright but short-lived meteor was extinguished. The duke's son, who was his pupil, resenting the preference shown to the accomplished North-Briton by a lady of rank and beauty, attacked him in disguise at her door, and, having saved his own life by discovering himself, seized the sword which was presented to him by his over-awed preceptor, and brutally stabbed him.

George Buchanan, an eminent Scottish poet and historian, was born in 1506, and died in 1582. In the celebrated history of his own country, he has united the force and brevity of Sallust, with the elegance and perspicuity of Livy. His severe remarks, however, on the errors of the unfortunate Mary, raised him many foes, and are by no means laudable, as they bear the marks of self-interest, partiality, and malice, against a woman in distress. Every man of taste knows with what admirable skill and genius he translated the Psalms into Latin verse. His great talents procured him the honourable appointment of preceptor to James VI. of Scotland. When he was reproached with having made his majesty a

pedant, "It is a wonder," said he, "that I have made so much of him." He died in more affluence than men of wit and learning commonly attain, having considerable posts in Scotland, and a pension from Elizabeth.

Among the females of this period, Mrs. Margaret Roper, daughter to Sir Thomas More, was highly distinguished by her classical attainments. Mildred, the eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, was as eminent for learning as for piety and charity. His second daughter, Anne, on account of her sense and erudition, was appointed governess to Edward VI. At the age of twenty-two, she published twenty-five sermons, which she had translated from the Italian tongue. Catharine, the knight's third daughter, was celebrated for her knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, languages.

As lady Jane Grey was one of the most unfortunate, so was she one of the most accomplished and learned women of her age: when she was sentenced to die, on the prevalence of Mary's party, because she had been proclaimed queen of England, she wrote a Greek letter to her sister, on the evening previous to her death.

CHAP. VII.

COMMERCE. A.D. 1547—1603.

QUEEN Elizabeth, conscious what addition both to the strength and wealth of the nation must accrue from the extension of her trade, gave great encouragement both to commerce and manufactures. Her private interest and the importunity of her avaricious favourites, however, betrayed her into the measure of granting monopolies, and of creating companies with exclusive privileges, injurious to the interest of her most industrious subjects.

Before the reign of that princess, the English sovereigns usually had recourse to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; and their credit was so low, that, besides paying the high interest of ten or twelve per cent., they were obliged to make the city of London join in the security. That great and enterprising merchant, Sir Thomas Gresham, engaged the company of merchant-adventurers to grant a loan to the queen; and, as the money was regularly repaid, her credit by degrees established itself in the city, and she shook off her dependence on foreigners. At the same time, the merchants of the Hanse-towns, or trading cities of Germany,

withdrew from the English commerce, hoping that necessity would occasion their recall. This weak step only tended to convince the English merchants, that they could carry on trade without their assistance. Having therefore built ships, they soon found the sweets of those additional profits which this new independence afforded them. The exports from England to the Hanse-towns were wool, cloth, saffron, lead, tin, and cheese; while she received from them jewels, wrought silks, cloth of gold and silver, spices, drugs, linen, tapestry, madder, hops, glass, arms, ammunition, and household furniture.

After the death of the czar John Basilowitz, his son Theodore revoked the patent which the English enjoyed for a *monopoly of the Russian trade*. When the queen remonstrated against this innovation, he told her ministers, that trade, which by the laws of nations ought to be common to all, should not be converted into a monopoly for the private gain of a few. So much juster notions of commerce were entertained by this barbarian than appear in the conduct of the renowned Elizabeth! Theodore, however, continued some privileges to the English, on account of their being the discoverers of the communication with his country.

The trade of Turkey, which commenced about the year 1583, was immediately confined to a company by Elizabeth. Before that time, the grand signor had always conceived England to be a province of France.

In 1600, the English East-India company received its first formation, that trade being till then in the hands of the Portuguese, in consequence of their having first discovered the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. Factories were established in China, Japan, and India, and in the islands of Amboyna, Java, and Sumatra.

For several years after the commencement of this period, the English manufactures were in a state of depression, as foreign wares of almost all kinds had the preference. In 1567, there were found, on enquiry, to be 4851 strangers of all nations in London, of whom 3838 were Flemings, and only 58 Scots. The persecutions in France and the Low-Countries afterwards drove a greater number of foreigners into England, by whom commerce and manufactures were very much improved. It was then that Sir Thomas Gresham built, at his own charge, for the reception of merchants, the magnificent fabric of the Exchange, which the queen visited, giving it the appellation of the Royal Exchange.

The navy of this country, at the decease of the queen, consisted of forty-two vessels. None of these ships carried above forty guns; four only came up to that number; there were but two ships of a thousand tons; twenty-three were below five hundred, some were of fifty, and some even of twenty, tons; and the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet did not exceed seven hundred and seventy-four. In those days, indeed, the naval power of our sovereigns chiefly consisted of ships hired or impressed from the merchant-service.

Crown and half-crown pieces of silver became, for the first time, current money in the reign of Edward VI. The six-penny piece, too, then appeared in England.

During the two first years of her active government, Elizabeth coined so much money, that she found herself enabled, in 1560, to utter a proclamation, by which the bad coin was reduced to its real value. "Next to the reformation of religion," says the ingenious Mr. Leake, "nothing could be more glorious or beneficial to the kingdom, than the reformation of the money." The parliament congratulated Elizabeth upon this event, and it makes a striking part of the laudatory inscription on her tomb at Westminster.

CHAP. VIII.

MANNERS. A. D. 1547—1603.

THE nobility in this age still supported, in some degree, the ancient magnificence in their hospitality, and in the number of their dependents. The queen, however, found it prudent to retrench, by proclamation, their expense in the maintenance of retainers. The expense of hospitality she in some degree encouraged, by the frequent visits she paid her nobility, and the sumptuous feasts which she received from them. The earl of Leicester gave her an entertainment in Kenilworth-castle, which was extraordinary for cost and magnificence. Among other particulars, we are told that three hundred and sixty-five hogsheads of beer were consumed at it. The earl had fortified this castle, which contained arms for ten thousand men. The earl of Derby had two hundred and forty servants. Burghley, though he was frugal, and had no paternal estate, kept one hundred servants. He entertained the queen twelve times in his country-house,

where she remained four or five weeks at a time. Each visit cost him two or three thousand pounds.

Among the other species of luxury, that of apparel began much to increase during this age; and the queen thought proper to restrain it by proclamation. Her example was very little conformable to her edicts. As no woman was ever more desirous of making impression on the hearts of beholders, no one ever went to a greater extravagance in apparel, or studied more the variety and richness of her dresses. She appeared almost every day in a different habit, and tried all the several modes by which she hoped to render herself agreeable. She was also so fond of clothes, that she could never part with any of them; and, at her death, she had in her wardrobe all the different habits (to the number of three thousand,) which she had ever worn.

Perfumed gloves, ornamented with tufts of rose-coloured silk, were so much the delight of Elizabeth, that she would always be drawn with her favourite pair, presented by the earl of Oxford, on his return from Italy. Silk stockings, too, came in with Elizabeth. Mrs. Montague (her silk-woman) having presented her with a pair of black silk stockings, she never afterwards wore cloth hose. Knit stockings were first introduced to the English court by William, earl of Pembroke.

The farthingale, a Spanish petticoat, was introduced in the reign of Philip and Mary.

The handkerchiefs of the ladies were frequently wrought with gold and silver. In the old ballad of George Barnwell, it is said of Millwood,

"A handkerchief she had,
"All wrought with beaten gold;
"Which she, to stay her trickling tears,
"Before her eyes did hold."

Ruffs, made of lawn and cambric, and stiffened with yellow starch, reaching to the upper part of the head behind, were worn both by ladies and gentlemen.

"When I saw queen Elizabeth," says Hentzner, "she was in her sixty-seventh year, and had in her ears two pearls with very rich drops. She wore false *red hair*, and her bosom was uncovered. She was dressed in white silk, bordered with pearls of the size of beans; and over it was a mantle of black silk, shot with silver threads; and, instead of a chain, she had an oblong collar of gold and jewels. Whenever she

turned her face, as she went along, every one fell down on his knees." Her father had been treated with the same deference. James I. suffered his courtiers to omit it.

The beard, in the reign of Mary, throve abundantly. Those of bishop Gardiner and cardinal Pole, in their portraits, are of a most uncommon size. The beard was sometimes used, in the sixteenth century, as a *toothpick-case*. The celebrated Huguenot, admiral Coligni, always wore his tooth-pick in his beard.

Among the customs of this age, there was no one more prominent or more lasting than that of smoking tobacco. This herb reached England in 1596, imported by the remains of sir Walter Raleigh's unfortunate settlers in Virginia. The knight himself was one of its first admirers; but, for some time, he observed great secrecy in his attachment, till the foible was discovered by a ridiculous accident. Sir Walter was enjoying his pipe in solitude, forgetful that he had ordered his servant to attend him with a goblet of ale. The faithful domestic suddenly entering the study, and finding, as he thought, his master's brains on fire, and evaporating in smoke and flame through his nostrils, did his utmost to extinguish the conflagration, by emptying the goblet on the knight's head; and, rushing out of the room, alarmed the family with an account of the frightful scene he had witnessed. Sir Walter then made no secret of taking tobacco, and many years afterwards he smoked two pipes publicly on the scaffold.

In the course of this period, theatrical representations furnished amusement to all ranks. When the regular dramatic pieces had once gained possession of the stage, their progress was rapid. The people hailed them as mines of pleasure, and were never satiated with the ores they produced. The earliest patent, for acting plays, is dated in 1574; but, in the beginning of the next century, at least fifteen licensed theatres were open to the inhabitants of London. The best plays, particularly those of Shakespeare, were acted at the Black-friars theatre, which was crowded with people of fashion. To the best places at the superior theatres, the price of admission was, as late as 1614, only one shilling; and, at the inferior ones, one penny or two pence would procure decent accommodation. Before the exhibition began, three flourishes, or pieces of music, were played. The instruments chiefly used were trumpets, cornets, and hautboys. The person who spoke the prologue

was ushered in by trumpets, and usually wore a long black velvet cloke. An epilogue was not considered as a necessary appendage to a play. Plays, in the early days of the drama, began about one in the afternoon, and generally continued about two hours. One dramatic piece composed the whole entertainment of the day. When the author sold his play to the stage, the customary price was six guineas.

CHAP. IX.

INCIDENTS AND CURIOUS PARTICULARS. A. D. 1547—1603.

IN 1553, Edward VI. incorporated Bethlehem and Bridewell hospitals in the metropolis, including a school for poor boys, with certain regulations, under the patronage of the corporation of London.

During the heat of queen Mary's persecution, Elizabeth was in a very unpleasant state. Being once urged to explain her sentiments concerning the real presence, she made the following extemporary reply:

"Christ was the word that spake it,
"He took the bread and brake it,
"And what the word did make it,
"I do believe and take it."

She was, however, under the disagreeable necessity of hearing mass, and submitting to confession. Bishop Gardiner had once actually procured a warrant for her death, signed by some of the privy-council; but the queen, being informed of it, forbade the execution.

Elizabeth loved the pomp of the Romish service, and retained, in her church-ordinances, some of those vestments which her brother Edward had dismissed: she expunged from the Litany, "*From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord, deliver us!*" She once called out from her closet to her chaplain, in the middle of a sermon, to desist from condemning the sign of the cross; she openly thanked one of her divines for preaching on behalf of the real presence; she hated that the clergy should marry, and, but for Cecil, would have forbidden them. On the other hand, she is said to have severely reprimanded a clergyman for placing before her, at church, a ritual ornamented with paintings of saints, and other illuminations.

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In 1576, captain Frobisher, in his pursuit of a north-west passage to Asia, fell in with the Straights which lead to Hudson's Bay, and discovered the western coast of Greenland. He brought with him to England a poor savage, who, unconscious of the advantage of civilization, pined away through regret for his native snows.

In 1569, the Italian method of book-keeping was taught in England by James Peele. His work, printed in the black letter, is still extant; and its instructions, though verbose, are practical.

In 1582, a supply of water was brought, by Peter Morris, a freeman of London, to the highest part of the city. He laid pipes over the tower of St. Magnus.

In 1588, the *Chest at Chatham* was established, which, by means of a small deduction from the pay of every seaman, provides an annual allowance for such as may chance to be wounded.

In 1590, Elizabeth formed an establishment at Westminster, for forty boys, in every species of classical learning. The progress of Westminster school has been steady and fortunate. Its masters have been, and are still, as much distinguished for their learning, as the students for spirit and urbanity.

The university of Edinburgh was founded, in 1580, by James VI., on the supplication of the magistrates ruling that metropolis; who, with the most opulent citizens, were the benefactors and endowers, aided by donations of religious houses and lands. These are accordingly the sole patrons and visitors, though James seemed to have wished to be the sole patron, and to have it called "King James's College."

The Mareschal College, at Aberdeen, was founded, in 1594, by George, earl-mareschal, who endowed it with a considerable landed estate; but the expense of the building was chiefly defrayed by the town of Aberdeen.

In 1589, coaches were first introduced into England. The hackney act passed in 1693, and hackney-coaches were increased to one thousand in 1770, and to twelve hundred in 1801.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES I., IN 1603, TO THE REVOLUTION, IN 1688.

THE crown of England was never transmitted from father to son with greater tranquillity than it passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart. James VI. of Scotland, son of the unfortunate Mary, succeeded Elizabeth on the throne of England, by the title of James I.; and, as his hereditary right was unquestionable, and the late queen, with her dying breath, had recognised the title of her kinsman, his accession was universally approved by all orders of the state.

James was not insensible to the great flow of affection which appeared in his new subjects; and, being himself of an affectionate temper, he seems to have been in haste to make them some return of kindness and good offices. In six weeks after his entrance into the kingdom, he is computed to have bestowed knighthood on no less than two hundred and thirty-seven persons; and titles of all kinds became so common, that they were *scarcely a mark of distinction*. But, as the king's favours were shared out to the Scottish courtiers who attended him to England, proportionably in greater numbers than to the English, the latter did not fail to murmur. It must, however, be owned, in justice to the new king, that he left almost all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and committed the conduct of political concerns, both foreign and domestic, to his English subjects.

Henry IV. of France, in conjunction with the United Provinces, and the northern crowns, now proposed a league to depress the exorbitant power of the house of Austria. But the genius of the English monarch not being equal to such vast enterprises, and the love of peace being his ruling passion, he declined it.

Amidst this tranquillity, a conspiracy was carried on to subvert the government, and to seat on the throne Arabella Stuart, the king's near relative by the family of Lenox, and descended equally from Henry VII. The lords Grey

and Cobham, sir Walter Raleigh, and other persons of distinction and influence, were concerned in this dangerous design. Cobham and Grey were pardoned, after they had laid their heads on the block; and Raleigh, having received a respite, was remanded to confinement; but Mr. Broke, and two Romish priests, suffered death for the conspiracy.

It was an advantage to this monarch, at the beginning of his reign, that the courts of Rome and Spain were thought to be his enemies; and this opinion was increased by the discovery and defeat of the gunpowder-plot. This was a scheme of the Roman-catholics to cut off, at one blow, the king, lords, and commons, at the meeting of parliament, when it was also expected that the queen and prince of Wales would be present. About ten days before the meeting, a catholic peer received a letter, which had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand, earnestly advising him not to attend. The nobleman, though he considered the letter as a foolish attempt to frighten and ridicule him, thought proper to lay it before the king, who, studying the contents with more attention, began to suspect some dangerous contrivance by gunpowder, and ordered all the vaults below the house of parliament to be inspected. A magistrate was therefore sent, with proper attendants, who, finding Guy Fawkes, or Vaux, before the door of the upper house, immediately seized him, and at the same time discovered in the vault thirty-six barrels of powder, which had been carefully concealed under faggots and piles of wood. The match, and every thing proper for setting fire to the train, were found in the pocket of Vaux, whose countenance bespoke his savage disposition, and who, after regretting that he had lost the opportunity of destroying so many heretics, made a full discovery. The conspirators, being seized by the country-people, confessed their guilt; and many of them suffered death in different parts of England. Notwithstanding this horrid crime, the bigoted catholics were so devoted to Garnet, a Jesuit, one of the conspirators, that they fancied miracles to be wrought by his blood; and, in Spain, he was considered as a martyr.

James was much blamed for his partiality to favourites. His first was Robert Carr, a Scottish gentleman, who was created earl of Somerset. He married the countess of Essex, who had obtained a divorce from her husband, and was, with her, found guilty of poisoning sir Thomas Overbury. The king, however, pardoned them both. His next fa-

avourite was George Villiers, an English gentleman, who, upon Somerset's disgrace, was admitted to an unusual share of favour and familiarity with his sovereign, and created duke of Buckingham.

Having formed a system of policy for attaching himself to the court of Spain, that it might assist him in recovering the Palatinate, James sacrificed to that system the brave sir Walter Raleigh, on a charge of having committed hostilities against the Spaniards in the West-Indies. This great man, finding his fate inevitable, acted the concluding scene of his life with great courage and resolution. Feeling the edge of the axe by which he was to be beheaded, he said, "'Tis a sharp remedy, but a sure one for all ills." He coolly harangued the people, and, laying his head upon the block, with the utmost composure, received the fatal blow.

The king, having lost his eldest son Henry, who had an invincible antipathy to a popish match, cast his eyes upon the infanta of Spain, as a proper wife for his son Charles. The duke of Buckingham, who was a favourite both with the father and the son, availing himself of the prince's romantic humour, proposed a secret expedition to the court of Madrid, as an act of gallantry which would render him more agreeable to the infanta, and give him an opportunity of seeing her person before the irrevocable union should take place. The mind of the young prince was immediately inflamed with the idea; and, in an imprudent moment of conviviality, they set out for Madrid, in disguise, with only three attendants. As they passed through Paris, they ventured to go to a ball at court, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards espoused, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty. In eleven days after their departure from London, they arrived at Madrid, and surprised every body by a step so unusual among great princes. The young prince was received by the king with every token of respect and attention, and, by his prudent demeanour, joined to his youth and advantageous figure, endeared himself to the whole court. Buckingham, however, who had rendered himself odious to the Spaniards by his arrogance, dreading the influence which that nation would acquire after the arrival of the infanta, used all his credit to prevent the match; and Charles, after acting a solemn farce of courtship, returned without his bride. Had it not been for the royal partiality in his favour, the earl of Bristol, then ambassador in Spain, would have brought the duke to the block.

The opposition of the parliament to the prerogative, which James exerted, in many instances, to an unusual degree, was at this time carried to a great height, and laid the foundation of those fatal struggles between the crown and the people, which took place in the subsequent reign. The two parties, called *Whigs* and *Tories*, were now formed.

James died on the 27th of March, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after a reign of twenty-two years over England. His reign over Scotland was almost of equal duration with his life. In all history, it would be difficult to find a reign less illustrious, yet more unblemished, than that of James in both kingdoms. While he imagined that he was only maintaining his authority, he encroached on the liberties of his people; and, while he endeavoured, by an exact neutrality, to acquire the good-will of all his neighbours, he was unable to preserve fully the esteem of any. His intentions were just, but more adapted to the conduct of private life, than to the government of a great nation. His generosity bordered on profusion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific disposition on pusillanimity, his wisdom on cunning, and his friendship on light fancy and boyish fondness.

Charles I. was in the twenty-fifth year of his age, when he ascended the throne. His attachment to the duke of Buckingham was undiminished; but he would have evinced greater judgement and patriotism, if he had withdrawn his confidence from that unworthy minister. The spirit of the people had forced the late king into a breach with Spain; but, as Charles gave some early indications of his despotic temper, the parliament testified very little inclination to furnish him with money for carrying on the war. The king sent troops to assist the French Calvinists; but they were so ill supported, that Rochelle was reduced to extremity, by which the protestant interest received an irrecoverable blow in France. The blame of every public miscarriage was thrown upon Buckingham, who sheltered himself under the royal protection, till he was assassinated by one Felton, a subaltern officer, as he was ready to embark for the relief of Rochelle, which soon after surrendered to cardinal Richelieu.

The death of the duke of Buckingham did not deter Charles from his arbitrary proceedings, which the English patriots, in that enlightened age, justly considered as so many acts of tyranny. He laid impositions upon trade, without the authority of parliament. Many of the merchants, and some members of the house of commons, refused to pay these ar-

bitrary duties. Some of them were imprisoned, and the judges were checked for admitting them to bail. The house of commons resented this conduct by drawing up a protest, and denying admittance to the gentleman-usher of the black rod, who came to adjourn them, before it was finished. This served only to widen the breach, and the king dissolved the parliament; after which he exhibited informations against nine of the most eminent members, among whom was the great Mr. Selden, who was as much distinguished by his love of liberty, as by his uncommon erudition. The accused members objected to the jurisdiction of the court; but their plea was over-ruled, and they were sent to prison during the king's pleasure.

Every thing now operated to the prejudice of Charles. The commons would vote no supplies without some redress of the national grievances; upon which Charles, presuming on what had been practised in reigns when the principles of liberty were less understood, levied money upon various monopolies, and raised taxes without the authority of parliament.

About this time, a great number of the puritans, tired of the restraint they experienced in England, embarked for North-America, and there laid the foundations of a government that possessed all the liberty, both civil and religious, of which they were deprived in their native country. But at length the enemies of that sect prevailed on the king to put a stop to these emigrations. As John Hampden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell, were among those who were prevented, by an order of council, from going in some ships which were ready to sail, the king had afterwards full leisure to repent of this exercise of his authority.

Not long after, John Hampden acquired, by his spirit and courage, universal popularity throughout the nation. Having been rated at twenty shillings of ship-money, for an estate which he possessed in the county of Buckingham, he resolved, rather than tamely submit to so arbitrary an imposition, to risque a legal prosecution. The case was argued during twelve days, in the exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England. Although the arguments appeared to be in favour of Hampden, a majority of the judges gave sentence for the crown. The intrepid patriot, however, obtained, by the trial, the end for which he had so generously sacrificed his safety and quiet. The people were roused from their lethargy, and became sensible of the danger to which their liberties were exposed.

While the king was acting in this imprudent and arbitrary manner, an insurrection broke out in Scotland, in consequence of his encroachments upon the presbyterian system. A covenant was signed by all ranks of people, binding them to a rejection of the royal canons and liturgy, and to a defence of the national liberties; and a considerable body of malcontents ventured to invade England. The court endeavoured to pacify the intruders; but tranquillity could not easily be restored. A parliament being convoked, a formidable opposition was organised in the house of commons. The king was constrained to grant the *petition of right*, and to give up the earl of Strafford to the vengeance of his adversaries. A catholic rebellion arose in Ireland, which the people imputed to the arts of the royalists; and, to complete the climax of misfortune, a civil war was produced in England by the clashing pretensions of Charles and the parliamentary leaders. The last dispute respected the command of the militia, which the king refused to surrender to the two houses. When they had taken that force into their own hands, he erected, in 1642, his standard at Nottingham. In the battle of Edge-hill, neither party prevailed; but, near the close of 1643, the affairs of the royalists seemed to wear a promising aspect. A defeat, however, at Marston-Moor, greatly injured their interests; and, in 1645, the conflict at Naseby nearly decided the contest, and left the king at the mercy of his subjects. Upon the approach of Fairfax to form the siege of Oxford, the harassed monarch made his escape from that city, and threw himself into the hands of the Scottish army. Oxford surrendered in 1646; and the few remaining garrisons soon followed the example. The parliament then consulted how to get the king out of the hands of the Scots, and to send them back into their own country. After several debates about the disposal of his person, the Scots, having received 200,000*l.*, delivered up Charles to the commissioners of the parliament of England. He was conducted to Holmby-house, and was afterwards removed to Hampton-court, whence he fled to the Isle of Wight. He had not been long there, before a party of Cromwell's soldiers seized him, and conveyed him first to Hurst-castle, then to Windsor, and at last to London. A court of justice was now illegally constituted: after an extraordinary trial, sentence of death was passed upon him; and he was beheaded before his own palace, at Whitehall,

on the 30th of January, 1649, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign.

Charles had many virtues; but he suffered himself to be guided by counsellors much inferior to himself in knowledge and judgement, whilst he paid too much deference to the advice of his consort, who was superstitiously attached to the errors of popery.

The dissolution of the monarchy in England soon followed the death of the monarch. The peers met, and sent down their votes, as usual, to the commons, who did not deign to take the least notice of them; and, in a few days, the lower house passed a vote, abolishing the house of peers as useless and dangerous. The commons then ordered a new great seal to be engraven, on which that assembly was represented, with this legend, *In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing, restored, 1649.* And the forms of all public business were changed, from the king's name, to that of the keepers of the liberties of England.

The confusions which overspread England after the death of Charles, and the unsettled humours of the people, were only to be controlled by the great influence, both civil and military, acquired by Oliver Cromwell.* This man, suited to the age in which he lived, and to that alone, was qualified to gain the affection and confidence of the people, by what was mean, vulgar, and ridiculous in his character, and to command their obedience by what was great, daring, and enterprising. Familiar even to buffoonery with the meanest sentinel, he never lost his authority. Transported to a degree of madness with religious ecstasies, he never forgot the political purposes to which this show of piety might be rendered subservient; so that, in a short time, the commonwealth, of which he was the chief conductor, found every thing composed into a seeming tranquillity.

In 1649, he was sent general into Ireland, and, in about nine months, subdued almost that whole kingdom; and leaving his son-in-law Ireton to complete the conquest, he returned to England. In 1650, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the commonwealth, and set out on his march against the Scots, who had espoused the royal cause, and placed young Charles on the throne. In 1651, he totally defeated the royalists at Worcester, when the king himself was obliged to flee.

* The son of a gentleman of small fortune in Huntingdonshire.

Numberless were the difficulties which Charles encountered, in order to elude the search of his enemies. At Bos-cobel, on the borders of Staffordshire, he was secreted by one Penderell, a farmer; and, for his better concealment, he got up into an oak, where he sheltered himself twenty-four hours. This tree was afterwards denominated *The Royal Oak*; and for many years it was regarded with great veneration. At length, after a variety of adventures and sufferings, the king landed safely in Normandy.

Admiral Blake, and other naval officers, now carried the terror of the English name by sea to all quarters of the globe, while Cromwell, having little employment, began to be afraid that his services would be forgotten. He therefore marched with about three hundred musqueteers, and dissolved the parliament, after having loaded the members with the vilest reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public. He next annihilated the council of state, with which the executive power was lodged, and transferred the administration to one hundred and forty persons, whom he summoned to Whitehall. Being in a short time declared *lord-protector of the commonwealth*, Cromwell exercised greater power under that title than had ever been annexed to the regal dignity. He gave the command of all the forces in Scotland to general Monk, and sent his own son, Henry, to govern Ireland.

The court of Spain, having long courted in vain the friendship of the successful usurper, applied at last to king Charles, who had removed his small court to Bruges; and that prince raised four regiments of his own subjects, whom he employed in the Spanish service. The protector sent over into Flanders six thousand men, who joined the French army under Turenne. A battle was fought, in which the Spaniards were defeated; and Dunkirk, being soon after surrendered, was by agreement delivered to Cromwell.

The protector, however, reaped very little satisfaction from the success of his arms abroad. The situation in which he stood at home, kept him in perpetual inquietude. Having deceived every party, he had lost the confidence of all. He was so alarmed, that he never moved a step without guards, and seldom slept above three nights together in the same chamber. Society terrified him, and solitude was not to be borne. His health sensibly declined, and he was seized with a slow fever, which terminated in his death, in the sixtieth year of his age. As he had, A. D. 1658.

when nearly speechless, expressed a wish that his son Richard might succeed him, the council immediately recognised his succession. Henry, who governed Ireland with popularity, ensured to his brother the obedience of that kingdom. Monk proclaimed him in Scotland. The army and fleet acknowledged his title. Foreign ministers paid him the usual compliments. And Richard, whose unambitious character would never had led him to contend for empire, was tempted to accept so rich an inheritance, which seemed to be tendered to him by universal consent. But, as he wanted resolution, and possessed none of those arts which were proper to conciliate an enthusiastic army, he soon signed his own abdication.

Thus suddenly fell the family of the Cromwells. Richard continued to possess a moderate estate, and extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age. His social virtues, more valuable than the greatest capacity, met with a recompense more precious than noisy fame.

The restoration of monarchy was effected by a general concurrence of the people, who seemed to have thought that neither peace nor protection could be obtained, unless the ancient constitution should be established. Monk, a man of military abilities, had the sagacity to observe this change in the sentiments of the people; and, having rendered himself absolute master of the parliament, he restored

A. D. 1660. Charles II. Being born on the 29th of May, 1630, Charles was now thirty years of age. He was possessed of a good shape, a manly figure, and a graceful air; and his whole demeanour and behaviour were well qualified to support and increase the popularity he had acquired. To a lively wit and quick comprehension, he united a just understanding, and a general observation both of men and things. The easiest manners, the most unaffected politeness, the most engaging gaiety, accompanied his conversation and address. Even when he was known to be base and unprincipled, he did not lose the general favour.

An act of indemnity was one of the first measures of Charles's government. Those who had an immediate hand in the late king's death were, however, excepted; and Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and others, now dead, were attainted, and their estates forfeited. Vane and Lambert, though not among the regicides, were also excepted. Ten only, out of twenty-eight who were tried and condemned for the murder of the king, were devoted to immediate destruction. And these were all the severities which followed such furious civil

Wars and convulsions. Charles knew and cultivated the true interest of his kingdom, till he was warped by pleasure, and immersed in indolence. He has been severely censured for selling Dunkirk to the French king for 250,000*l.* to supply his necessities, after he had squandered the large sums granted to him by the parliament. Among the evidences of his degeneracy as a king, may be mentioned his giving way to the popular clamour against the lord-chancellor Clarendon, as the chief adviser of the sale of Dunkirk. Though his lordship was a man of extensive knowledge and great abilities, and more honest in his intentions than most of his other ministers, Charles sacrificed him to the sycophants of his pleasurable hours. The great seal being taken from Clarendon, he withdrew into France, where he lived in a private manner, and survived his banishment seven years.

The first Dutch war, which began in 1665, was carried on with resolution and spirit under the king's brother, the duke of York; but Charles having misapplied the public money which had been granted for the prosecution of it, the Dutch, while a treaty of peace was depending, insulted the royal navy of England. They sailed up the river Medway, as far as Chatham, made themselves masters of Sheerness, and burned several men of war, together with a magazine full of stores. Notwithstanding this treacherous affront, Charles concluded a treaty at Breda, by which the colony of New York, in North-America, was ceded by the Dutch to the English.

In 1678, the famous Titus Oates, and some others, opened a charge against the papists, of a plot to murder the king, and introduce popery. Though nothing could be more ridiculous than some parts of their narrative, yet it was supported with the utmost zeal on the part of the parliament, and the aged lord Stafford, Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, and other papists, were executed. The duke himself was obliged to leave the country.

The earl of Shaftesbury, who was at the head of the opposition, urged the total exclusion of the duke from the throne: but the bill miscarried in the house of peers. All England was again in a flame. The king took measures to crush or intimidate the opponents of the court. Lord Russel, who had been remarkable for his opposition to the popish succession, Algernon Sydney, and several other distinguished protestants, were tried, condemned, and suffered death. Even the city of London was intimidated into the measures

of the court, and the duke returned in triumph to Whitehall. It was thought, however, that Charles repented of his arbitrary conduct, and intended to take some measures for the future quiet of his reign, when he was seized with a sudden fit of illness, and, after languishing a few days, expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. He had married Catharine, infanta of Portugal, with whom he had received a large pecuniary portion, besides the town and fortress of Tangier, in Africa; but he left behind him no lawful issue. The descendants of his natural sons and daughters are now among the most distinguished of the British nobility.

On the death of Charles, the duke of York was immediately proclaimed king, under the title of James II. He made himself considerably popular by an early declaration in favour of the church of England. Soon after his accession, however, the duke of Monmouth, natural son of the late king, landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, with only eighty-three followers, and, declaring that his mother was married to Charles II., announced his intention of delivering the nation from the usurpation of James. Having raised an army in the west of England, he attacked the king's forces at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater; and, had it not been for his own misconduct, and the cowardice of lord Grey, he might have been completely victorious. Though Grey and the cavalry fled in the beginning of the action, the undisciplined infantry gallantly maintained the combat for three hours. They were at length put to flight; and thirteen hundred of them were killed in the battle and pursuit. The duke continued to flee from the field till his horse sank under him; and he was at last found lying in a ditch, covered with fern. When seized by his enemies, he burst into tears. He wrote the most submissive letters to the king, and conjured him to spare the issue of a brother who had ever been attached to his interest. But James was inexorable; and the unfortunate duke was punished with death for his rash attempt.

Had this victory been managed with prudence by James, it would have tended much to increase his authority. But the cruelty with which the revolt was punished, and the rash confidence with which this success inspired the king, led to his ruin. The savage colonel Kirk, on his first entry into Bridgewater, without the least enquiry, ordered a great number of the prisoners to be executed, while he and his company should drink the king's health; and, observing their

feet to quiver in the agonies of death, he commanded the drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound, saying he would give them music to their dancing. About two hundred and fifty persons afterwards fell a prey to the no less savage disposition of judge Jefferies, who was appointed to try them.

James employed the most offensive measures for rendering popery the established religion of his dominions. He pretended to a power of dispensing with the known laws. He instituted an illegal ecclesiastical court, and openly received and admitted into his privy-council the pope's emissaries. The imprisonment of seven bishops, who presented a petition against reading his declaration for liberty of conscience, greatly alarmed even his protestant friends; and his encroachments upon the civil and religious rights of his subjects were disapproved by the pope himself.

In this extremity, many great men in England and Scotland applied for relief to William, prince of Orange, a man of great abilities, and the inveterate enemy of Louis XIV., who then threatened Europe with subjugation. Accordingly, the prince, who was the nephew and son-in-law of James, embarked with a fleet of five hundred sail for England, avowing it to be his design to restore the church and state to their due rights. Upon his arrival, he was joined, not only by the Whigs, but by many whom James had considered as his best friends. Even his daughter Anne, inspired with protestant zeal, deserted this misguided monarch, and, with her husband, prince George of Denmark, joined the invader of her country.

Alarmed by so many proofs of a general disaffection, and not daring to repose trust in any one, James embraced the resolution of escaping into France. He sent off before-hand the queen and the infant prince, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French monarch. He himself, soon after, disappeared in the night-time, attended only by sir Edward Hales, and hastened to a ship, which waited for him near the mouth of the Thames. But, being seized by the populace at Feversham, he returned to Rochester, and thence to London, where he was received with acclamations. Urged, however, by his fears, he withdrew again to Rochester, whence he privately retired to the sea-coast, and, embarking in a frigate, was transported into Picardy. He then hastened to St. Germain's, where he was received by Louis with the highest generosity, sympathy, and regard.

Thus the courage and abilities of the prince of Orange, seconded by surprising good fortune, effected the deliverance of this island, and dethroned a great prince, supported by a formidable fleet and a numerous army. The succession of the crown still remained to be settled. Some advised the prince to claim it by right of conquest. A regent, with kingly power, was proposed by others. But, after the question had been agitated, with great zeal and ability, by the opposite parties, in the house of peers, it was carried for a king, by two voices only. The convention then passed a bill, by which the crown was settled on the prince and princess of Orange, while the sole administration remained in the prince. To this settlement was annexed a declaration of rights, in which the chief subjects of dispute between the king and people were finally determined. The powers of the royal prerogative were more narrowly circumscribed, and more exactly defined, than in any former period of the English government.

CHAP. II.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. A. D. 1603—1688.

THE pacific reign of James I. was marked by a series of theological contests, in which he shewed himself more the theologian than the prince. The disputes between the church and the puritans induced him to call a conference at Hampton-court, on pretence of finding expedients which might reconcile both parties. It was the character of James's counsels, through his whole reign, that they were more wise and equitable in their end, than prudent and politic in the means. Though justly sensible that no part of civil administration required greater care or nicer judgement than the conduct of religious parties, he had not perceived that, in the same proportion as this practical knowledge of theology is requisite, its speculative refinements are mean, and even dangerous, in a monarch. By entering zealously into frivolous disputes, James gave them an air of importance and dignity, which they could not otherwise have acquired; and, being himself enlisted in the quarrel, he could no longer have recourse to contempt or ridicule, the only proper method of appeasing it. The puritans had not yet separated themselves from the church, nor openly renounced episcopacy. Though the spirit of the parties greatly differed, the

principal subjects of dispute, concerning the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the use of the surplice, and the bowing at the name of Jesus, were apparently frivolous. These were the mighty questions which were solemnly agitated, before the king and his ministers in the conference at Hampton-court, between some bishops and dignified clergymen on the one hand, and some leaders of the puritanical party on the other. The puritans complained of a partial and unfair management of the dispute. The king, it must be confessed, from the beginning of the conference, shewed the strongest propensity to the established church, and frequently inculcated a maxim, which, though it has some foundation, is to be received with great limitations: *No Bishop, No King*. The bishops, in their turn, were very liberal of their praises towards the royal disputant; and the archbishop of Canterbury said, that *undoubtedly his majesty spoke by the special assistance of God's spirit*.

In 1617, James attempted to establish episcopacy in Scotland; but the zeal of the people baffled his scheme. He must first have procured an acknowledgement of his own authority in all spiritual causes; and nothing could be more contrary to the practice, as well as principles, of the presbyterian clergy. The ecclesiastical courts possessed the power of pronouncing excommunication. That sentence, besides the spiritual consequences supposed to follow from it, was attended with immediate effects of the most important nature. The person excommunicated was shunned by every one, as profane and impious. His whole estate, during his life-time, and all his moveables, for ever, were forfeited to the crown. The king, therefore, could only extort a vote from the general assembly of the kirk, for receiving certain ceremonies upon which his heart was more particularly set; namely, kneeling at the sacrament, the private administration of it to sick persons, the confirmation of children, and the observance of Christmas and other festivals. This constrained consent of the presbyterian clergy was belied by the inward sentiments of all ranks of people: even the few, over whom religious prejudices have less influence, thought national honour sacrificed by a servile imitation of the modes of worship practised in England.

In the reign of Charles I., when the commons of England proceeded to carry their scrutiny into his management of religion, his indignation was roused, and he dissolved the parliament. The commons, on this occasion, behaved with

great boldness. As soon as they had the first intimation of the king's design from the speaker, who immediately left the chair, they pushed him back into it; and two members held him there, until a short remonstrance was framed, and passed by acclamation rather than by vote. In that remonstrance, all who endeavoured to introduce popery or Arminianism, were declared enemies to the commonwealth.

The difference between the Arminian doctrines and those of the established church, related chiefly to the tenets of predestination and absolute decrees, which had been embraced by the first reformers, and were still maintained, in all their rigour, by the puritans. The Arminians, by asserting the freedom of the human will, and diffusing other rational opinions, had rendered themselves obnoxious to those violent enthusiasts. Some of that sect had obtained the highest preferments in the church. Laud, Montague, and other bishops, the chief supporters of episcopal government, were all supposed to be tainted with Arminianism. The same men, and their disciples, in return for the favour shewn to them by the court, were the strenuous preachers of passive obedience, and an unconditional submission to princes.

Charles, whose religion had a strong tincture of superstition, required a rigid conformity to the ancient ceremonies, to which he was prompted by Laud, bishop of London, whom he raised to the see of Canterbury, and invested with uncontrolled authority over the consciences of the people. The religion which this prelate wished to establish, differed very little from that of the church of Rome. The puritans, therefore, regarded him as the forerunner of antichrist; and they were not singular in this opinion. Having embraced the catholic faith, the daughter of the earl of Devonshire was asked by Laud, why she had changed her religion: "It is chiefly," she answered, "because I hate to travel in a crowd." The meaning of these words being demanded, she replied, "I perceive that your grace and many others are making haste to Rome; and, therefore, in order to prevent my being jostled, I have gone before you." In a word, Laud's chief objection to popery seems to have been the supremacy of the holy see, to which he did not choose to subject his metropolitan power. His ambition and bigotry, however, at last brought him to the block.

When Cromwell assumed the reins of government, he granted an unbounded liberty of conscience to all but catholics and episcopalians. He was most favourable to the

independents. He also paid considerable attention to the millenarians, or *fifth-monarchy men*, who had great interest in the army, and whose narrow understanding and enthusiastic temper afforded full scope for the exercise of his pious deceptions. These men, while they anxiously expected the *second coming* of Christ, believed that the saints, among whom they considered themselves to stand in the first class, were alone entitled to govern in the mean time. Cromwell, in conformity with this way of thinking, told them, that he had only stepped in between the *living* and the *dead*, to keep the nation, during that interval, from becoming a prey to the *common enemy*. He, in a great measure, conciliated the affection of the presbyterians, by joining them in a commission with some independents, to examine those who were to be admitted to benefices, and also to dispose of all the churches that were in the gift of the crown.

The candidates for holy orders were no more perplexed with questions concerning their progress in Greek and Roman erudition, or their talent for profane arts and sciences. The chief object of scrutiny regarded their advances in grace, and the critical moment of their conversion.

With the pretended saints of all denominations, Cromwell was familiar and easy. Laying aside the state of protector, which, on other occasions, he well knew how to maintain, he insinuated to them, that nothing but necessity could ever oblige him to invest himself with it. He talked spiritually to them. He sighed, he wept, he canted, he prayed.

While Cromwell enjoyed the chief sway, a new sect started into notice. George Fox, a shoe-maker, believing, or pretending, that he was illuminated by the Holy Spirit, began to declaim against the corruptions of religion and the superfluity of established ordinances, and to recommend the utmost simplicity of worship, and a patient expectation of the influence of the divine light, which, he said, was intended to operate for the regulation of faith and practice. Robert Barclay, who was less illiterate than Fox, defended and illustrated these opinions; and the proselytes or converts were called Quakers, because they were thrown into tremors, under the operation of the spirit.

In the reign of Charles II. great rigour and severity were exercised against the presbyterians, and all other nonconformists to episcopacy, which was again established with a high hand, both in England and Scotland.

James II., more imprudent and more arbitrary than his

predecessor, sent an ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to make his obeisance to the pope, and to reconcile his kingdoms to the catholic communion. The pontiff, instead of being pleased with this forward step, concluded that a scheme, conducted with so much indiscretion, could not be successful, and treated the embassy with neglect. The only proof of complaisance which James received from the pope, was his sending a nuncio to England. Four catholic bishops were publicly consecrated in the king's chapel, and sent out, under the title of vicars apostolical, to exercise the episcopal function in their respective dioceses. Their pastoral letters, directed to the lay-catholics of England, were printed and dispersed by the express permission of the king. The regular clergy of that communion appeared at court in the habits of their order; and some of them were so indiscreet, as to boast that, in a little time, they hoped to walk in procession through the capital. This encouragement of popery soon deprived James of the crown, and induced a witty courtier of Louis XIV. to exclaim, "*There goes a simpleton, who gave up three kingdoms for a mass.*"

CHAP. III.

GOVERNMENT. A. D. 1603—1688.

UNDER the sway of the Stuarts, the nation began to recover from its long lethargy. James I., a prince rather imprudent than tyrannical, drew back the veil which had hitherto disguised so many usurpations, and made an ostentatious display of what his predecessors had been contented to enjoy. He asserted, that the royal authority *was not to be controlled*, any more than that of God himself. Kings, he said, were omnipotent: and those privileges, which the people so clamorously demanded as their inheritance and birthright, were no more than an effect of the grace and toleration of his royal ancestors. These principles, announced from the throne, and propagated from the pulpit, spread an universal alarm. A new light had risen upon the nation, through the extension of commerce and the art of printing; and a spirit of opposition frequently displayed itself in this reign, to which the British monarchs had not, for a long time, been accustomed.

The storm, which was only gathering during the reign of James, began to vent itself under his successor. The gene-

ral notions of religion, by a singular concurrence, uniting with the love of liberty, the same spirit which had made an attack on the established faith, now directed itself to politics; and Charles had to cope with a whole nation put in motion, and directed by an assembly of statesmen. The compulsory loans and taxes, disguised under the name of *benevolences*, were declared to be contrary to law; arbitrary imprisonment, and the exercise of martial law, were abolished; the court of high commission, and the star-chamber, were suppressed; and the constitution, freed from the apparatus of despotic power, with which the Tudors had obscured it, was restored to its ancient lustre. Charles could not reconcile himself to limitations and restraints so injurious, as he thought, to sovereign authority. His discourse and conduct betrayed his secret design. Distrust took possession of the nation. The tempest blew from every point of the compass. The constitution was rent asunder; and Charles exhibited, in his fall, an awful example to the universe.

The royal authority being thus annihilated, the English made fruitless attempts to substitute a republican government in its stead. Subjected, at first, to the power of the principal leaders in the long parliament, they saw that power expire, only to pass, without bounds, into the hands of a protector. Charles II. was therefore invited to the throne. But, as he seemed intent upon the recovery of the ancient powers of the crown, the nation resolved to take away some of the remnants of despotism. The laws against heretics were repealed; and the *habeas-corpus* act, that barrier of personal safety, was established.

On the death of Charles, began a reign which affords a most exemplary lesson both to kings and people. James II., hurried away by a spirit of despotism and monkish zeal, not only extorted from his subjects unlimited obedience, but sought to establish, on the ruins of a religion held most dear by the nation, a mode of faith which repeated acts of the legislature had proscribed. The people, seeing their liberty thus attacked, even in its first principles, had recourse to that remedy which reason and nature pointed out. They withdrew the allegiance which they had sworn to James, and thought themselves absolved from their oath to a king, who himself disregarded the oath taken at his coronation. The throne was now declared vacant, and a new line of succession established, when an advantage was taken of the rare opportunity of entering into a *compact* between king and

people. The revolution of 1688, therefore, is the third grand æra in the history of the English constitution. The great charter had marked out the limits within which the royal authority ought to be confined; some outworks were raised in the reign of Edward I., but the circumvallation was not completed till the Revolution.

CHAP. IV.

LEARNING. A.D. 1603—1688.

THE reign of James I. was distinguished by the labours of many eminent authors, both in prose and verse, but mostly in a bad taste. The pun was common in the pulpit, and the quibble was propagated from the throne. The king's *Basilicon Doron*, however, and all his speeches to parliament, evince that he possessed no mean genius. But the great glory of literature, during this reign, was sir Francis Bacon. If we consider the variety of talents displayed by this man, as a public speaker, a man of business, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, and a philosopher, he is justly the object of our admiration.

Charles I. was a good judge of writing, and was thought by some more anxious about purity of style than became a monarch. In his turbulent reign, men of vast abilities made their appearance. Then the force and compass of our language were first fully tried in the public papers of the king and parliament, and in the bold eloquence of the speeches of the two parties. Then was roused, in political and theological controversy, the vigorous genius of John Milton, which afterwards broke forth with so much lustre in the poem of *Paradise Lost*, unquestionably the greatest effort of human imagination. No poet, ancient or modern, is so sublime in his conceptions as Milton; and few have ever equaled him in boldness of description, or strength of expression.

Cromwell, though he has been styled a barbarian, was not insensible to literary merit. Usher, though a bishop, received a pension from him. Marvel and Milton were in his service. Waller, who was his relative, was caressed by him, and always said, that the protector was not so illiterate as people commonly imagined. He intended to have erected a college at Durham, for the benefit of the northern counties. It must, however, be confessed, that

the wretched fanaticism, which so much infected the parliamentary party, was no less destructive of taste and science, than of all law and order. Gaiety and wit were proscribed. Human learning was generally despised. Freedom of enquiry was detested. Cant and hypocrisy alone were encouraged.

Amidst the thick cloud of enthusiasm, which overspread the nation, during the commonwealth and protectorship, there were a few sedate philosophers, who, in the retirement of Oxford, cultivated their reason, and established conferences for the mutual communication of their scientific discoveries. The celebrated Boyle, and Wilkins, who was afterwards bishop of Chester, promoted these philosophical conversations. Immediately after the restoration, these men procured a patent, and, having enlarged their number, were denominated the *Royal Society*. But this patent was all they obtained from the king. Though Charles was a great lover of the sciences, particularly chemistry and mechanics, he animated them by his example alone, not by his bounty. His craving courtiers and mistresses engrossed his expenditure, and left him neither money nor attention for literary merit. His contemporary, Louis XIV., far exceeded him in liberality. Besides pensions conferred on learned men throughout all Europe, his academies were directed by rules, and supported by salaries.

CHAP. V.

THE ARTS. A. D. 1603—1688.

AGRICULTURE, for many centuries, was very imperfectly cultivated in Britain. The sudden transitions so often mentioned by historians, from the lowest to the highest price of grain, and the prodigious inequality of its value, in different years, are sufficient proofs, that the produce depended on the seasons, and that art contributed very little to guard against the injuries of the heavens. Considerable improvements were now made in this beneficial art. A numerous catalogue might be formed of books and pamphlets, treating of husbandry, written about this time. The nation, however, was still dependent on foreigners for daily bread. Two millions sterling went out at one time for corn. It was not till the fifth year of Elizabeth, that the exportation of corn had been allowed in England; and Camden observes,

that agriculture, from that moment, received new life and vigour.

Before the civil wars, agriculture, and also the fine arts, were favoured at court, and a good taste began to prevail in the nation, under the auspices of Charles I. Inigo Jones was superintendant of the king's buildings. Charles, notwithstanding his narrow revenue, and his freedom from all vanity, lived in such magnificence, that he possessed twenty-four elegantly-furnished palaces. This prince was particularly fond of pictures, sometimes handled the pencil himself, and was a connoisseur in the art. The productions of foreign masters were purchased at a very high price. Their value was doubled by the emulation between Charles and Philip IV. of Spain, who were touched by the same elegant passion. Vandyke and Rubens were respected and caressed at court.

In poetry, Waller, whose taste was formed under the first Charles, and who wrote during the brightest days of the second, was one of the chief refiners of our versification, as well as language. Lee, whose dramatic talent was great, introduced into blank verse that solemn pomp of sound, which was long much affected by our modern tragic poets. The pathetic Otway brought tragedy down to the level of domestic life, and exemplified that simplicity of expression, so well suited to the language of the tender passions. But Otway was by no means a chaste dramatist; and the comic writers, contemporary with him, were grossly licentious; nor was the reign of Charles II., though crowded with men of genius, the æra either of good taste or of delicate sentiments.

The painters were not more chaste than the poets. Nymphs bathing, or voluptuously reposing on the verdant sod, were the common objects of the pencil. Even the female portraits of Sir Peter Lely, who was patronised by the king, are more calculated to provoke loose desire, than to impress the mind with any idea of the estimable qualities of the ladies whom they were intended to represent.

CHAP. VI.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES. A. D. 1603—1688.

SIR Walter Raleigh, an illustrious navigator and historian, born in 1552, performed eminent services to queen Elizabeth, particularly in the discovery of Virginia, and in the defeat of the Spanish Armada. He lived in prosperity and

honour during her reign; but, on the accession of king James, he lost his interest at court, and, being accused of high-treason, was condemned to die. By the interest of his friends, however, he was reprieved, and committed prisoner to the Tower of London, where he wrote his *History of the World*, a work of such uncommon merit, that it procured his liberation. He then received a commission from the king, to explore the golden mines of Guiana, where his eldest son, Walter, was killed by the Spaniards. The town of St. Thomas being burned by captain Keymis in this expedition, Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, made heavy complaints to James; and, in order to appease him, Sir Walter was apprehended in Devonshire, his native county, and condemned on his former attainder;—an instance of injustice and cruelty unparalleled in our annals. It gave the highest offence then, and has ever since been mentioned with general indignation. He suffered decapitation with great coolness and fortitude. A. D. 1618.

Lord Napier, a Scottish nobleman, who distinguished himself by the invention of logarithms, died in 1622. He discovered the arithmetical rods which go by his name, and was not only an able mathematician, but a learned theologian.

William Camden, who died in 1623, rendered his name immortal, by a work entitled *Britannia*, being a history of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, and a survey of the state of the country. In 1593, he was appointed head-master of Westminster-school, while he enjoyed a prebend of Salisbury, without being in orders. Mr. Hume says, that his *Life of Queen Elizabeth* is "among the best historical productions which have been composed by any Englishman."

Sir Francis Bacon, an able historian, and a celebrated philosopher, was born in Westminster, in 1561, being the son of the lord-keeper sir Nicholas. He was noticed when a child by queen Elizabeth, and gave such early indications of his future eminence, that she used to call him her "young lord-keeper." Being accused of bribery and corruption in the office of lord-chancellor, during the reign of James I., he was fined 40,000*l.*, and sentenced to be confined in the Tower; but he was soon restored to liberty, had his fine remitted, and was summoned to the first parliament of Charles I. It must not be omitted that the greatest part of the blame attaches to his servants. Of this he was so sensible, that, during his trial, as he passed through the room where his domestics were sitting, when they all rose up on his entrance,

he said, "Sit down, my masters, your rise hath been my fall." After his disgrace he went into retirement, where he devoted himself to his beloved studies. He died in 1626. His writings are an inestimable treasure of sound wisdom; and he has been styled the "father of experimental philosophy."

Sir Edward Coke, chief-justice of England, who died in 1634, was a very eminent lawyer. His *Institutes*, in four parts, are invaluable. The first part is a comment on Sir Thomas Littleton's *Tenures*. He met with many changes of fortune; was sometimes in power, and sometimes in disgrace. He was, however, so excellent at making the best of a disgrace, that king James used to compare him to a cat, who always fell upon her legs.

Benjamin Jonson, after being a bricklayer and a soldier, acquired great celebrity as a dramatic writer, with the judicious aid of his friend Shakespeare. At the accession of James I., he had the honour of preparing the device for the entertainment of the king, in his passage from the Tower to Westminster-abbey. That prince dignified him with the appointment of poet-laureate; and Charles I. raised the salary from one hundred marks to one hundred pounds. He died in 1637, in a state of poverty, produced by his extravagance.

Inigo Jones, a famous architect, who died in 1651, was surveyor-general of the royal works, and had the management of the masques and interludes for the entertainment of the court. This brought him into a quarrel with Ben Jonson, his co-adjutor, who ridiculed him in the comedy of *Bartholomew-fair*, under the name of *Lantern Leutherhead*. He designed the palace of Whitehall, the Banqueting-house, and several other buildings.

William Harvey, physician to Charles I., discovered the circulation of the blood, and the motion of the heart in animals. This discovery made a great revolution in the medical science; and many foreign practitioners endeavoured to rob the author of his due honour, by ascribing it to other persons, and among the rest to Father Paul of Venice. But the right of our learned countryman has long since been fully established. He died in 1657.

Abraham Cowley, who died in 1667, was a poet of great ingenuity and vigour of thought. "Of all authors," says Mr. Addison, "none ever abounded so much in wit, according to Locke's true definition of it, as Cowley." His prose writings please, by the honesty and goodness which they express, and even by their spleen and melancholy.

Sir John Denham, whose *Cooper's Hill* has been commended by all men of taste, died in 1668. With reference to this poem, Dr. Johnson says, that "he seems to have been the author of a species of composition that may be denominated local poetry, of which the fundamental subject is some particular landscape, to be poetically described, with the addition of such embellishments as may be supplied by historical retrospect or incidental meditation."

John Milton, in a state of poverty, blindness, disgrace, danger, and old age, composed that wonderful poem, *Paradise Lost*, which not only surpassed all the performances of his contemporaries, but all the compositions, which had flowed from his pen, during the vigour of his age, and the height of his prosperity. This circumstance is not the least remarkable of all those which attend that great genius. It is well known, that he never enjoyed during his life the reputation which he deserved. Whitelocke talks of *one Milton*, as he calls him, a blind man, who was employed in translating a treaty with Sweden into Latin. These forms of expression are amusing to posterity, who consider how obscure Whitelocke himself, though lord-keeper, and an ambassador, has become in comparison with Milton. He had three daughters, two of whom used to read to him in eight languages, though they understood none but their mother-tongue. Milton was so handsome, that at Cambridge he was called "*The Lady of Christ's College*." He died in 1674.

Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, and lord-chancellor of England, has immortalised his name by a history of the great rebellion. An air of probity and of goodness runs through this work; as these qualities did in reality embellish and ennoble the life of the author. He was afterwards, however, impeached of high-treason, and fled to France, where he died in 1674.

James Gregory, an eminent Scottish mathematician, who invented the reflecting telescope, the burning concave mirror, and the quadrature of the circle by an infinite converging series, died in 1675.

Sir Matthew Hale, a celebrated judge, was induced, though he was in his heart a royalist, to act under the republican rulers of the state, and also under the protector Cromwell. His integrity was acknowledged by all parties; and he was esteemed for the excellence of his private character: but his proceedings against supposed witches did not tend to his honour. His death happened in 1676.

Dr. Isaac Barrow, who died in 1677, was an excellent divine, and mathematician. When the king advanced him to the dignity of master of Trinity College, Cambridge, his majesty was pleased to say, "he had given it to the best scholar in England." He was succeeded in the mathematical chair, which he resigned upon this appointment, by his illustrious pupil Sir Isaac Newton.

Samuel Butler lived for some time, in the capacity of steward, with Sir Samuel Luke, a famous commander under Oliver Cromwell. It is thought that he intended to ridicule this knight under the character of *Hudibras*. It is surprising how much erudition Butler has introduced, with so good a grace, into a work of pleasantry and humour. *Hudibras* is one of the most learned compositions in any language. No performance whatever abounds so much in strokes of true wit and satire. The advantage, which the royal cause received from this poem, in exposing the fanaticism and false pretences of the former parliamentary party, was prodigious. The king himself had so good a taste as to be highly pleased with the merit of the work: yet was he either so careless in his temper, or so little endowed with gratitude, that he allowed the author, who was a man of virtue and probity, to live in obscurity, and die in want. Butler died in 1680.

Algernon Sidney, a celebrated patriot, and political writer, was a violent opposer of Cromwell after he became protector. He set up Marcus Brutus for his pattern, and died like him in the cause of liberty. A false accusation being brought against him for being concerned in the rye-house plot, he was tried by judge Jefferies and a packed jury, and was found guilty. He suffered death on Tower-hill, in 1683.

Edmund Waller, the refiner of English verse, died in 1687. He was very intimate with Cromwell, upon whom he wrote a panegyric. He was, however, treated with great respect by Charles II. at the Restoration, and afterwards sat in several parliaments. He retained his natural vivacity, and the vigour of his genius, to the age of eighty-two years.

The Hon. *Robert Boyle*, a most distinguished philosopher, and exemplary man, died in 1691. He was one of the first of those illustrious men, who formed the royal society, for the purpose of improving experimental knowledge upon the plan laid down by the great Bacon. He improved the air-pump, and discovered several qualities of the air. His philosophical writings, and his curious experiments in chemistry, have secured him immortal fame.

CHAP. VII.

COMMERCE. A. D. 1603—1688.

THE reign of James I. is memorable for the commencement of the American colonies, established on the noblest footing that has been known in any age or nation. Peopled gradually from England, by the necessitous and indigent, who at home increased neither wealth nor population, the colonies promoted the navigation, encouraged the industry, and even, perhaps, multiplied the inhabitants of their mother-country. The spirit of independence here shone forth in its full lustre, and received new accessions from the aspiring character of those who, being discontented with the established church and monarchy, had sought freedom amidst those savage deserts.

The East-India company, having received a new patent from James, enlarged its stock to 1,500,000*l.*, and fitted out many ships for the prosecution of its increasing commerce. The burthen of one of these amounted to twelve hundred tons: it was therefore the largest merchant-ship that England had ever known.

England acquired much more respect from foreign powers, between the death of Charles I. and that of Cromwell, than she had been treated with since the days of Elizabeth. This was the result of the spirited characters of the great men who formed the republic, which Cromwell abolished, and who, as it were, instantaneously called forth the naval strength of the kingdom.

During the inter-regnum, monopolies of all kinds were abolished, and liberty of conscience was granted to all sects, to the vast advantage of population and manufactures, which had suffered greatly during the civil war.

From the Restoration to the Revolution, commerce and riches had a rapid increase. The two Dutch wars, by disturbing the trade of that republic, promoted the navigation of this island; and, after Charles had made a separate peace with the states, his subjects enjoyed unmolested the trade of Europe. The only disturbance which they met with, was from a few French privateers, who infested the channel, because Charles did not interpose in behalf of his people with sufficient spirit and vigour.

Copper halfpence and farthings began to be coined in the reign of James I. Most of the silver pennies having disap-

peared, tradesmen were obliged to carry on their retail business chiefly by means of leaden tokens. The coins of Cromwell exceed, in beauty and workmanship, any of that age. James II. coined gold pieces of the value of five pounds.

CHAP. VIII.

MANNERS. A. D. 1603—1688.

IN the reign of James I. family pride greatly prevailed. The gentry and nobility distinguished themselves from the common people, by a dignity and stateliness of behaviour. Great riches, acquired by commerce, were more rare, and had not yet been able to confound all ranks of men, and to render money the chief foundation of distinction. The expenses of the higher ranks consisted in pomp and shew, and a numerous retinue, rather than in convenience and true pleasure. The earl of Nottingham, in his embassy to Spain, was attended by five hundred persons. Civil honours, which now hold the first place, were at that time subordinate to the military. The young gentry and nobility were fond of distinguishing themselves by arms. The fury of duels, also, prevailed more than at any time before or since. This was the turn that the romantic chivalry, for which the nation was formerly so renowned, had lately taken.

The first sedan-chair seen in England was in this reign, and was used by the duke of Buckingham, to the great indignation of the people, who exclaimed that he was employing his fellow-creatures to do the service of beasts.

Though the country life was then much more generally embraced by all the gentry than at present, the progress of arts, and the increase of pleasures and social intercourse, were beginning to produce an inclination for the softer and more civilised life of the city. James discouraged, as much as possible, this alteration of manners. He would often say to them, "Gentlemen, at London, you are like ships in a sea, which show like nothing; but in your country villages you are like ships in a river, which look like great things." James thought that, by their living together, they became more sensible of their own strength, and were apt to indulge too curious researches into matters of government. To remedy this evil, he wished to disperse them to their country-seats; where, he hoped, they would bear a more submissive reverence to his authority, and receive less support from each

other. But the contrary effect soon followed. The riches, amassed during their residence at home, rendered them independent. The influence acquired by hospitality made them formidable. They would not be led by the court: they could not be driven; and thus the system of the English government soon after underwent a total change.

If human nature could ever reach happiness, the condition of the English gentry, under so mild and benign a prince, might merit that appellation. They were engaged in no expense, except that of country hospitality. Few taxes were levied; no wars were waged; no attendance at court was expected; no bribery or profusion required at elections. They were ambitious of representing the counties, but careless of the boroughs. A seat in the house was in itself of small importance; but the representation of the former became a point of honour among the gentlemen.

The king did not affect splendid equipages, costly furniture, a luxurious table, or prodigal mistresses. His buildings, too, were not sumptuous; though the Banqueting-house must not be forgotten, as a monument which does honour to his reign. Hunting was his chief amusement, the cheapest pleasure in which a king can indulge himself. His expenses were the effects of liberality, rather than of luxury. One day, it is said, while he was standing amidst some of his courtiers, a porter passed by loaded with money, which he was carrying to the treasury. The king observed, that Rich, afterwards earl of Holland, one of his favourites, whispered something to one standing near him. Upon enquiry, he found that Rich had said, *How happy would that money make me!* Without hesitation James bestowed it all upon him, though it amounted to three thousand pounds. He added, *I think myself very happy in having an opportunity of obliging a worthy man, whom I love!* The generosity of James was more the result of a benign humour or light fancy, than of reason or judgement. The objects of it were such as could render themselves agreeable to him in his hours of leisure, not those who were endowed with great merit, or who possessed talents or popularity, which could strengthen his interest with the public.

By the industry and frugality introduced, during the commonwealth, among the people in general, and the citizens in particular, they were enabled to augment their capitals. It appears, however, that Cromwell, had he lived, and been firmly settled in the government, would have broken through

the sober maxims of the republicans ; for, some time before his death, he affected great magnificence in his person, court, and attendants. Charles II. was a man of social temper, of an easy address, and a lively and animated conversation. His courtiers partook much of the character of their prince. They were chiefly men of the world, and many of them were distinguished by their wit, gallantry, and spirit. But, having all experienced the insolence of puritanical tyranny, or been exposed to the neglect of poverty, they had imbibed, under the pressure of adversity, the most libertine opinions both in regard to religion and morals ; and in greedily enjoying their good fortune, after the Restoration, in retaliating the selfishness, and contrasting the language and the manners of hypocrisy, they shamefully violated the laws of decency and decorum. Elated at the return of their sovereign, the whole royal party dissolved in thoughtless jollity ; and even many of the republicans, but especially the younger sort, and the women, were glad to be released from the gloomy austerity of the commonwealth. A general relaxation of manners took place. Pleasure became the universal object, and love, the prevailing taste. But that love was rather an appetite than a passion ; and, though the ladies sacrificed freely to it, they were never able to inspire their paramours either with sentiment or delicacy.

CHAP. IX.

INCIDENTS AND CURIOUS PARTICULARS. A. D. 1603—1688.

IN 1611, baronets were first created in England, by James I.

The first colonial establishment of the English in North-America did not take effect before the year 1616. Various attempts had been previously made ; but they failed for want of due care and attention. Virginia was the scene of the first settlement ; and, in 1621, New England began to be colonised.

In 1642, Charles I. gave general disgust by going to the house of commons, to demand the surrender of Hampden and four other leaders of the popular party, whom he had ordered the attorney-general to prosecute for high-treason. This rash step hastened the explosion of civil war.

In 1643, to supply the charges of the war, the first excise was imposed by the parliament.

In 1646, peace was concluded by the king with the Irish rebels, to whom an amnesty was granted for all their acts of treason, outrage, and barbarity. It is supposed that, in 1641, the first year of the rebellion, fifty thousand protestants were sacrificed to the fury of the Romanists.

In 1662, the Royal Society was instituted, for the promotion of philosophical knowledge.

On the 2d of September, 1666, a fire broke out near London-bridge, and made great havock, but did not rage to the destruction of human life. It was computed, that eighty-nine churches, and thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, were reduced to a heap of ruins. The calamity was accidental, as far as we can judge. It was imputed to the malice of the catholics ; but this was an unfounded suspicion.

In 1671, there was a private affair, (says Mr. Hume,) which disgusted the house of commons, and required some pains to accommodate it. The usual method of those who opposed the court in the money-bills, was, if they failed in the main vote, as to the extent of the supply, to levy the money upon such funds as they expected would be unacceptable, or would prove deficient. It was proposed to tax theatres. The courtiers objected, that the players were the king's servants, and a part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry, a gentleman of the country party, asked, " whether the king's pleasure lay among the male or female players ? " This stroke of satire was aimed at Charles, who, besides his mistresses of higher quality, entertained at that time two actresses, Davis and Nell Gwynne. The king received not the raillery with the good humour which might have been expected. It was said, that, as this was the first time that a due respect to majesty had been publicly violated, it was necessary, by some severe chastisement, to make Coventry an example to all who might incline to tread in his footsteps. Some officers of the guards were ordered to way-lay him, and to set a mark upon him. He defended himself with bravery ; and, after wounding several of the assailants, he was disarmed with some difficulty. They cut his nose to the bone, in order, as they said, to teach him what respect he owed to the king. The commons were inflamed by this indignity offered to one of their members, on account of words spoken in the house. With the assent of the peers, they passed a law, which made it capital to maim any person : and it was enacted, that those criminals, who had assaulted Coventry, should be incapable of receiving a pardon from the crown.

There was another private affair, by which the king was as much exposed to the imputation of a capricious lenity, as he was here blamed for unnecessary severity. Blood, a disbanded officer of the protector's army, had been engaged in the conspiracy for raising an insurrection in Ireland, for which he was attainted, and some of his accomplices were capitally punished. The daring villain meditated revenge upon the duke of Ormond, the lord-lieutenant. Having, by artifice, drawn off the duke's footmen, he attacked his coach in the night, and made himself master of his person. He might here have finished the crime, had he not meditated refinement in his vengeance: he resolved to hang the duke at Tyburn; and for that purpose bound him, and mounted him on horseback behind one of his companions. They had advanced into the fields, when the duke, making efforts for his liberty, threw himself to the ground, and brought down with him the assassin to whom he was fastened. They were struggling together in the mire, when Ormond's servants, whom the alarm had reached, came and saved him. Blood was soon after taken in the attempt to steal the crown. The court had use for so complete a villain, and sank so low as to apply to his grace for pardon for the offence against him. The duke granted it with a generous indignation. Blood had a pension of five hundred pounds per annum, and was frequently seen in the presence-chamber; to shew, it was supposed, to the great uncomplying men of the time, what a ready instrument the ministry had to revenge any attempt that might be made against them in behalf of the cause of liberty.

BOOK IX.

CHAP. I.

POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY, FROM THE REVOLUTION, IN 1688, TO THE PEACE CONCLUDED AT PARIS, IN 1815.

THE prince of Orange had been invited to England by a coalition of parties, united by a common sense of danger; but this tie was no sooner broken than they flew asunder, and each resumed its original bias. Their mutual jealousy and rancour revived; and William soon found himself at the head of a faction. As he had been bred a Calvinist,

and had always expressed an abhorrence of spiritual persecution, the presbyterians, and other protestant dissenters, considered him as their peculiar protector, and supported his interest with zealous fervour. For the same reason, the friends of the church became jealous of his proceedings, and employed all their influence in thwarting his measures. He, therefore, resolved to mortify the church, and gratify his own friends, at the same time, by removing the disqualifications imposed upon non-conformity, and restoring to protestant dissenters the right of enjoying and exercising civil employments. Though he was opposed in this design, a bill was enacted, indulging the dissenters with toleration, provided that they held no private assemblies or conventicles with the door shut. Even the papists felt the benign influence of William's moderation in spiritual affairs.

James and his queen had been received with the most cordial hospitality by the French monarch, who undertook to re-establish them on the throne of England. A fleet and army were accordingly prepared for this purpose. The French king is said to have offered to James the aid of fifteen thousand natives of France; to which he replied, that he would succeed by his own subjects, or perish in the attempt. He contented himself with about twelve hundred British subjects, and a considerable number of French officers, with whom he embarked at Brest. He landed safely at Kinsale, in Ireland, and soon after made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants.

Having issued writs for summoning a parliament, James, attended by the earl of Tyrconnel, the lord-lieutenant, marched with his forces, and possessed himself of Coleraine. He then laid siege to Londonderry, a town of no great importance in itself, but rendered famous by the perseverance with which it opposed the attacks of its besiegers. Though the place was ill fortified, and the garrison chiefly consisted of people unacquainted with military discipline; though they were destitute of provisions, and besieged by the king in person, at the head of a formidable army; they bravely held out till they received relief. During the siege, the garrison endured the greatest fatigue, and were reduced to the necessity of feeding on the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats, and other loathsome food. In this extremity, two ships, laden with provisions, sailed up the river; and having broken a boom, laid across by the enemy, and likewise sustained a very hot fire from both sides of the river, they

reached the town in safety, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants. Dispirited by the success of this enterprise, and regretting the severe loss which had been sustained during the siege, the troops of James retired in the night.

In 1690, William landed in Ireland, with a gallant army, when he fought the memorable battle of the Boyne, in which, though he had the misfortune to lose the brave duke of Schomberg, he gained a complete victory over the French and Irish, and obliged James to retire to Dublin, whence he hastened back to France. The next year, general Ginckel marched against the Irish forces, posted in a very advantageous situation, near the castle of Aghrim, with a large bog in their front. The English met with a fierce resistance; but, having passed through the morass with amazing intrepidity, they at last put the enemy to flight. After this entire defeat, Galway surrendered, and Limerick capitulated, by which an end was put to the Irish war, and all Ireland was subjected to the authority of William and Mary.

The king, having settled the domestic affairs of the nation, and exerted uncommon care and assiduity in equipping a formidable fleet, embarked for Holland. While he was promoting a grand confederacy against France, Louis furnished James with a powerful fleet; and the exiled prince repaired to La Hogue, ready to embark with a considerable force. Alarmed at these preparations, the English ministry ordered admiral Russel to put to sea with all possible expedition; and, being reinforced by the Dutch squadron, he sailed for the coast of France with ninety ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. Next day, he discovered the enemy's fleet under Tourville, which consisted of fifty-three

A.D. 1692. sail of the line. The memorable battle of La Hogue now commenced, in which a great part of the French fleet was destroyed. This victory proved so decisive, that, during the remaining part of the war, the French would not hazard another battle by sea. James returned in despair to St. Germain's. In Flanders, during this campaign, the French took Namur in the face of the allies; and, soon after, the latter were defeated at Steenkirk, by the duke of Luxembourg, as they were in the following year at Landen. Notwithstanding all his overthrows, however, William continued to be a formidable enemy to the French monarch, by dint of invincible fortitude, and a genius fruitful in resources.

In 1694, William gave his assent to the triennial bill, which enacted that a parliament should be held at least once

in three years. While this bill was depending, Dr. John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, died of a paralytic stroke, sincerely lamented by the public, and deeply regretted by the king and queen. Mary did not long survive her favourite prelate. About a month after his decease, she was taken ill of the small-pox, and died on the 28th day of December, in the thirty-third year of her age. Though William was neither a fond husband, nor subject to feelings of a delicate kind, he exhibited every symptom of unfeigned grief upon the death of the queen.

After the queen's decease, the friends of James renewed their intrigues for effecting a restoration of that monarch. Certain individuals, whose zeal for James overshot their discretion, now conspired to seize the reigning prince, and convey him to France, or put him to death in case of resistance. A descent on England was likewise projected; but these and other traitorous schemes proved abortive. Of William's enemies, the most obnoxious was sir John Fenwick, who, instead of being tried in the due course of law, was put to death by an act of attainder.

In 1697, a negotiation for peace was opened between the contending powers, at Ryswick, when the articles were subscribed by the Dutch, English, Spanish, and French ambassadors. By this treaty, the French king, although James had publicly remonstrated against his treating with an usurper, engaged, that he would not disturb or disquiet the king of Great-Britain in the possession of his realms or government, assist his enemies, or favour conspiracies against his person.

In 1701, king James expired at St. Germain's, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. This unfortunate monarch, since the miscarriage of his last attempt for recovering his throne, had laid aside all thoughts of worldly grandeur, and devoted his whole attention to the concerns of his soul. Hunting was his chief diversion; but religion was his constant care. He led a harmless life, and subjected himself to uncommon penance and mortification. His pride and arbitrary temper seemed to have vanished with his greatness. He died with the most fervent marks of devotion, and was interred at his own request in the church of the English Benedictines, at Paris, without any funeral solemnity.

Though an act passed, some months before the death of James, for settling the succession of the crown in the house of Hanover, his son was now proclaimed king of Eng-

land, at St. Germain's, and treated as such by the court of Versailles. His title was likewise recognized by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope. William loudly complained of this manifest violation of the treaty of Ryswick, and immediately recalled his ambassador from Paris. On the other hand, Louis dispersed a manifesto through all the courts of Europe, in vindication of his own conduct.

Soon after, the king called a new parliament, and his speech was received with universal applause. It was so much admired by the well-wishers to the revolution, that they printed it with decorations, in the English, Dutch, and French, languages. It appeared as a piece of furniture in all their houses, and as the king's last legacy to his own subjects, and to all protestant people. Both houses assured his majesty, that they would assist him to the utmost of their power against all his enemies; and the whole nation joined in the cry for a war with France, not only in resentment of the late conduct of Louis, but because, in defiance of a treaty for the partition of the Spanish dominions, he had secured the whole to his family.

William died in 1702, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign. This prince was not formed by nature for popularity. His manners were cold and forbidding. He seemed also sometimes to lose sight of those principles of liberty, for the support of which he had been raised to the throne; and, though he owed his royalty to the Whigs, he often favoured the Tories.

Anne, princess of Denmark, now ascended the throne, and declared her resolution to carry on the preparations for opposing the exorbitant power of France; and, the parliament approving the measure, war was declared against France, on the same day, at Vienna, London, and the Hague. During her reign, the British arms shone with unparalleled lustre. The duke of Marlborough humbled the pride of France, by a number of the most glorious victories, particularly those of Blenheim and Ramillies. In the famous battle of Blenheim, ten thousand of the French and Bavarians were slain or drowned, and fourteen thousand were made prisoners. The duke, during the engagement, rode through the hottest of the fire; but, neither in this, nor in any other conflict, did he receive a wound. This victory saved the house of Austria from ruin, and totally changed the face of affairs in the empire. In the battle of Ramillies, six thousand of the enemy lost their lives, and seven thousand were cap-

tured; and this success was soon followed by the general conquest of the Spanish Netherlands. The news of this defeat overwhelmed the city of Paris with consternation; and, though Louis affected to bear his misfortunes with composure, the constraint had a bad effect upon his constitution. At his court no mention was made of military transactions, or of the glory of the French arms.

A strong contest was maintained for the possession of Spain, which had been bequeathed to Philip, the grandson of Louis. The earl of Peterborough reduced the provinces of Catalonia and Valencia; and the advance of the allied army drove the king from his capital: but the battle of Almanza restored his preponderance over his rival, Charles of Austria. During this war, the Spaniards were deprived of Gibraltar, which they have never since been able to recover.

In 1706, the union of England and Scotland took place; when it was stipulated, that the united kingdom of Great-Britain should be represented by one and the same parliament, that Scotland should be represented by sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, and that all peers of Scotland should be peers of Great-Britain, and rank next after the English peers of the like orders and degrees. Great opposition was made to this act by the Tory interest. On the other hand, the Whigs promoted it with such zeal, that it passed in the house of commons by a majority of one hundred and fifty-eight. It made its way through the upper house with equal dispatch; and, when it received the royal sanction, the queen expressed the utmost satisfaction.

In 1710, means were found to insinuate into the queen's mind, that the Whigs were no friends to the national religion. The general cry of the deluded people was, that "*the church was in danger*;" which, though groundless, had a great effect. One Sacheverel, an ignorant worthless preacher, had countenanced this clamour in one of his sermons, in concert with the slavish doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. It was agreed, by both parties, to try their strength in this man's cause. He was impeached by the commons, and found guilty by the peers, who, however, ventured to pass upon him only a trifling censure. After this trial, the queen's affection was entirely alienated from the duchess of Marlborough and the Whig administration; and even the command of the army was taken from the duke of Marlborough, and given to the duke of Ormond. Thus the honour of the nation was sacrificed to court in-

trigues, managed by Mrs. Masham, a relative of the duchess of Marlborough, who had supplanted her benefactress.

The office of high-treasurer was given to Mr. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, whose chief coadjutor was the famous lord Bolingbroke, a man of warm imagination and elegant taste, penetrating, eloquent, and ambitious, but of loose and fluctuating principles.

In 1712, lord Bolingbroke was sent to Versailles, to hasten the conclusion of a treaty which had been for some time in agitation. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior, and was received by Louis with the most distinguished marks of respect. In 1713, the ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, peace was proclaimed in London, with the usual ceremonies. In this treaty, which was signed at Utrecht, Spain yielded up to England all right to Gibraltar, and the island of Minorca; while France resigned her pretensions to Hudson's Bay, Nova-Scotia, St. Christopher's, and Newfoundland. It was likewise agreed, that the fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished, and its port destroyed.

After the peace had received the sanction of the parliament, the ministers, no longer restrained by the tie of common danger, gave loose to their mutual animosity. Bolingbroke charged the earl of Oxford with having maintained a private correspondence with the house of Hanover. The earl wrote a letter to the queen, in which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. In all probability, the treasurer's greatest crime was, his having given umbrage to the favourite lady. He was now removed from his employment; and Bolingbroke triumphed in the victory he had obtained. But his lordship's ambition was defeated, as the place of lord-treasurer was filled by the duke of Shrewsbury.

The confusion at court, upon this occasion, had such an effect on the queen's spirits and constitution, which were already greatly impaired by the gout, that she was immediately seized with a lethargic disorder, of which A.D. 1714. she soon after expired, in the fiftieth year of her age. Though she was not a favourite with either party in parliament till towards the end of her reign, at which time the Tories affected to idolize her, yet the people dignified her with the name of *the good queen Anne*.

The queen had no sooner breathed her last, than orders were issued by the regency for proclaiming king George I. This prince, who was the son of Ernest Augustus, elector of

Hanover, and of Sophia, grand-daughter of James I., was in the fifty-fifth year of his age when he ascended the throne of Great-Britain, in pursuance of the act of succession. Notwithstanding the divided state of the kingdom, the event took place without the least opposition, tumult, or sign of popular discontent.

After the arrival of the king and his son, a total change was effected in the administration, in favour of the Whig party. The Tories, against whom George had been misled into strong prepossessions, were excluded from all share of the royal favour; and these early marks of aversion to that party, which the king took no pains to conceal, alienated the minds of many from his person and government, who might otherwise have served him with fidelity and affection. Among the principal changes, the duke of Ormond was dismissed from the command of the army, which his majesty restored to the duke of Marlborough, whom he likewise appointed master of the ordnance. Lord Halifax was placed at the head of the treasury; and the earl of Orford (admiral Russel) was intrusted with the direction of the naval department. Lord Townshend and Mr. Stanhope became secretaries of state; Mr. Pulteney was appointed secretary at war; and Mr. Walpole, who had already undertaken to manage the house of commons, was declared paymaster of the army.

The new ministers took an early opportunity of investigating the supposed delinquency of the Tories, in the adjustment of a treaty which was deemed premature and dishonourable. They affirmed, (and the house of commons concurred in the opinion,) that their predecessors had betrayed the honour and interest of the late queen, of their country, and the allies; and the earl of Oxford, lord Bolingbroke, and the duke of Ormond, were consequently impeached of high-treason. The earl, after a long imprisonment, was gratified with a dismission of the charge; and his associates, having fled to the continent, were stigmatized by an act of attainder.

The tranquillity which had attended the accession of George was soon disturbed by the discontent of those who lamented the exclusion of the son of James from the throne. That prince, styled the chevalier de St. George, maintained a correspondence with the disaffected party; and, by the assistance of the French king, who favoured him in secret, he was enabled to prepare a small armament in the port of

Havre. The duke of Ormond and lord Bólingbroke engaged in his service, and eagerly inflamed the disgust of the Tories.

These intrigues and machinations were discovered, and communicated to the court of London, by the earl of Stair, who then resided as English ambassador at Paris. This nobleman detected the chevalier's scheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave such early notice of it, as enabled the king to take effectual measures for defeating the design. But the most fatal blow to the pretender's interest in France was, the death of Louis XIV., that ostentatious tyrant, who, for above half a century, had sacrificed the repose of Christendom to his insatiate vanity and ambition. The regent-duke of Orleans now entered into engagements with the king of Great-Britain; and, instead of assisting the pretender, amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition.

The partisans of the chevalier had proceeded too far to retreat with safety, and therefore resolved to try their fortune in the field. The earl of Mar assembled three hundred of his own vassals, proclaimed the pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Brae-Mar, on the 6th of September. Soon after, two vessels arrived from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a great number of officers, who assured the earl of Mar, that the chevalier would soon be with them in person. The earl now assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, and in a short time found himself at the head of nine thousand men.

In England, the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster took the field with a body of horse. Being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, they proclaimed the pretender, and attempted to seize Newcastle; but, being unsuccessful, they retired into Scotland. There they were reinforced by some of the Scottish insurgents; and, returning to England, were overpowered at Preston, in Lancashire, by the king's forces, under the generals Wills and Carpenter, who obliged them to lay down their arms.

The very same day on which the rebels were subdued at Preston, the duke of Argyle encountered the rebel army near Dumblane. The earl of Mar retreated to Perth, after an obstinate conflict, in which both sides claimed the victory; though, the earl being frustrated in his design of crossing the Forth, it would appear that the king's forces had the advantage.

The chevalier had been amused with the hope of seeing the whole English nation rise up as one man in his behalf. He was, however, convinced of the vanity of his expectations, by a fruitless voyage, which the duke of Ormond had made to the western coast. Nothing, therefore, remained for him, but to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland. He accordingly arrived in that country, and, after being solemnly proclaimed, went to Scone, where he exercised some acts of royalty, and seemed determined to stay until the ceremony of his coronation should be performed. The chiefs of his party, hearing that the duke of Argyle had been reinforced by six thousand men from Holland, and expecting a speedy attack, resolved to abandon the enterprise. The chevalier was persuaded to embark in a French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose; and he had the good fortune to escape the vigilance of the British cruisers. Such was the issue of a rash and ill-concerted rebellion.

The house of commons impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun, the lords Widdrington, Nairn, and Kenmuir, for being concerned in the rebellion. They were all found guilty, and the first and last of the number suffered, though the mercy of the king was earnestly implored in their behalf. Bills of high-treason were found in London against Mr. Foster, Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates. Two-and-twenty were executed at Preston, Manchester, and Wigan; and four were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn.

A few weeks after the execution of the rebels, the king gave the royal assent to an act for enlarging the time of continuance of parliaments for seven (instead of three) years. This was an arbitrary stretch of power, inconsistent with that zeal for liberty which the Whigs had constantly professed. Another instance of their despotic spirit was the enactment of a severe and sanguinary act against riots, not justified even by the unsettled state of the times.

By interfering in foreign politics, George involved himself in a war with Philip V. of Spain; and he would probably have been attacked by Charles XII. of Sweden, if this prince had not lost his life in the invasion of Norway. Sir George Byng defeated the Spanish fleet near the coast of Sicily; but the war afterwards languished, though it was not closed before the king's death.

In 1720, the king having recommended to the commons the consideration of proper means for lessening the national

debt, this measure proved a prelude to the famous South-Sea act, which became productive of so much mischief. The scheme was projected by sir John Blunt, a director of the South-Sea company, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning, plausibility, and boldness, requisite for such an undertaking. The South-Sea company and the directors of the Bank of England laid their several plans before the house, for reducing all the public funds into one. This occasioned many warm debates; but the commons pronounced at last in favour of the South-Sea company, to which great commercial privileges were granted in consequence. As soon as the bill was enacted, through the scandalous arts practised to enhance the value of the stock, and decoy the unwary, the stock gradually rose to the amazing sum of one thousand pounds for each share of one hundred. The whole nation was infected with the spirit of *stock-jobbing* to an astonishing degree; and Exchange-alley was crowded with a strange concourse of every rank and denomination, Whigs and Tories, male and female. All other professions and employments were neglected, and the public attention was engrossed by this and other chimerical schemes, which were known by the name of *bubbles*. New companies started up every day, under the countenance of the principal nobility; and thousands were ruined by this extravagant spirit of speculation.

When the infatuation had prevailed for several months, the stock began to fall. The number of sellers daily increased; and it declined to one hundred and fifty. Several eminent goldsmiths and bankers, who had lent large sums upon it, were obliged to stop payment, and absconded. Public credit sustained a terrible shock, and the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment.

The commons, at length, took the affair into consideration; and a committee of secrecy was chosen by ballot, to examine the books, papers, and proceedings, of the company. In a short time, the committee reported that they had discovered a train of the most fraudulent villany that ever was contrived to ruin a nation. Some of the directors and principal officers of the company were taken into custody; and others were expelled from the house. The estates of the greatest delinquents were confiscated, towards making good the damages sustained by the public; and such prudent regulations were made as the case would admit. A similar fraud had been practised in France, by a Mis-

issippi company, under the direction of Mr. John Law, a Scotchman; but this did not serve as a warning to the English.

In 1722, the king is said to have received, from the duke of Orleans, certain information of a fresh conspiracy against his person and government, in favour of the pretender. A camp was immediately formed in Hyde-park, and several suspected persons were apprehended. Dr. Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, was seized, and committed to the Tower for high-treason. The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lords North and Grey, and some mal-contents of inferior rank, were confined in the same fortress. Mr. Lyster, a young gentleman of the Temple, was tried at the King's-bench, for enlisting men into the pretender's service; and, being found guilty, he was hanged at Tyburn. He was the only person who suffered death on this occasion. The bishop of Rochester was deprived of his see, and banished.

The session of parliament in 1724 was distinguished by the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, lord-chancellor of England. This nobleman, having connived at certain venal practices, touching the sale of places, and the money of suitors deposited with the masters of chancery, so as to incur the general reproach of the nation, was impeached by the commons, convicted of fraudulent practices, and condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds. He was immediately committed to the Tower; but, upon paying the money, he was discharged. Sir Peter King, who had been bred to a low trade, exemplified, by his extraordinary rise, the advantages of studious application and diligence; for he was promoted to that dignified station which the earl's delinquency had vacated.

In 1726, the king, having received advice of some inimical designs of the Spaniards, sent a squadron, under the command of Hosier, to the West-Indies. This brave officer, finding himself restricted by his orders from pursuing the dictates of his courage, and seeing his best officers and men daily swept off by the unhealthy climate, and his ships exposed to inevitable destruction from the worms, is said to have died of a broken heart; while the people of England loudly clamoured against the unfortunate expedition.

In consequence of these hostilities in the West-Indies, the emperor and the king of Spain prepared to make retaliation on the English; and the latter formed the siege of Gibraltar, with an army of twenty thousand men. A.D. 1727.

But the powers at variance (although they were extremely irritated against each other) being mutually averse to war, a treaty was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for adjusting all differences, and consolidating the peace of Europe. The siege of Gibraltar was raised, after it had lasted four months, during which the Spaniards lost a great number of men by sickness.

George, having appointed a regency, embarked for the continent, but did not live to return to England. He was proceeding from Holland to his German dominions, when he was suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder, of which he died at Osnaburg, on the 11th of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. He was naturally humane, upright, and well-disposed; but he would have been more popular in this country, if he had been less attentive to the concerns or the interest of Hanover, and less subservient to the zeal of the Whig faction.

George II. was equally observant of the politics of the continent, and equally inclined to favour the Whigs. He was particularly influenced by sir Robert Walpole, whom his father had placed at the head of the administration. He commenced his reign with an unnecessary subsidiary treaty, concluded with the duke of Wolfenbuttel, which excited general ridicule. His endeavours for the restoration of peace with Spain were prosecuted with apparent zeal, and at length produced the treaty of Seville.

As the king could not find any plausible pretence for embarking in a new war, a long interval of peace ensued; during which, the parliamentary debates, conducted with ability on both sides, formed the chief features of public interest.

A scheme of excise, projected by Walpole, disturbed the tranquillity of the nation. It excited such strong disgust, and such severity of censure, that, after the bill had made some progress in the house of commons, the intimidated premier resigned it to the public indignation. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Westminster; and the minister was burned in effigy by the populace.

Another subject which employed the eloquence and abilities of the members of both parties, was a motion for repealing the septennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments. Many arguments were adduced for and against it. The ministry alleged that the increase of

papists and jacobites rendered it dangerous to weaken the hands of the government. They challenged the opposition to produce one instance, in which the least encroachment had been made on the liberties of the people; and they defied the most ingenious malice to prove, that the reigning prince had ever endeavoured to extend any branch of the prerogative beyond its legal bounds. In opposition to this, warm and eloquent remonstrances were urged in favour of the motion; but it was exploded by numerical superiority.

Disputes had long subsisted with the Spaniards, who complained of the clandestine trade carried on by the English in the West-Indies and on the American coasts. The commercial jealousy of the court of Madrid encouraged its officers to check these irregularities by a seizure of the encroaching vessels or of the contraband articles; and this violence roused the English to a clamorous desire of war, to which they were strongly impelled by the factious zeal of the leaders of opposition in both houses. A convention was signed between the courts: but it was deemed so unsatisfactory by the people of Great-Britain, that, in 1739, the king consented to declare war. Admiral Vernon was sent with a squadron to annoy the commerce and settlements in America; on which occasion he took the town of Porto-Bello, with only six ships. The next year, advice was received from him, that he had bombarded Carthagea, and taken Fort Chagre.

The year 1741 was remarkable for a discordant and unsuccessful expedition of general Wentworth and admiral Vernon against Carthagea. The miscarriage of this enterprise, which had cost the nation an immense sum, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmur and discontent, and the people were depressed in proportion to that sanguine hope by which they had been elevated. The general discontent had a manifest influence upon the election of members for the new parliament. The minister now tottered on the brink of ruin. He knew that the majority of a single vote would at any time send him to the Tower; and he saw that his safety could be effected by no other expedient than that of dividing the opposition. This he tried in several ways, and, finding it fail, he declared that he would never more sit in the house of commons. The parliament was adjourned for a few days, and, in the interim, Sir Robert was created earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments.

The newly-created earl, however, soon found means to transfer the popular odium from himself, to those who had professed themselves his keenest adversaries. A coalition took place. Some were gratified with titles and offices; and all were assured, that, in the management of affairs, a new system would be adopted, according to the plan which they themselves should propose.

In 1745, the son of the old pretender resolved to make an effort for the acquisition of the British crown. Being furnished with some money, and a still larger supply of promises, from France, he embarked for Scotland in a small frigate, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, and other adventurers. For the conquest of the whole British empire, he brought with him seven officers, and arms for two thousand men. Having landed on the coast of Lochaber, he was joined by some Highland chiefs, and their vassals. He soon saw himself at the head of fifteen hundred men, and invited others to join him by manifestoes, which were dispersed throughout the Highlands. Sir John Cope was ordered to oppose his progress. In the mean time, the young adventurer marched to Perth, where his father was proclaimed king of Great-Britain. The rebel army advanced towards Edinburgh, which they entered without opposition. Here, too, the pageantry of proclamation was performed. But, though the pretender was master of the capital, the castle braved all his attempts. Sir John Cope, being reinforced, resolved to march towards Edinburgh, and give him battle. The young invader attacked him near Preston-Pans, and in a few minutes obtained the victory. In this engagement, about fifteen hundred of the royalists were killed, wounded, or captured, while the rebels lost only eighty of their number.

The leader of the insurgents now resolved to rush into England. He easily reduced Carlisle, and even reached Derby: but the eventual danger of a continuance of his progress prompted him to return to Scotland. The duke of Cumberland, putting himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, which consisted of about fourteen thousand men, resolved to come to a battle as soon as possible, and marched to the northward, while the enemy retired at his approach. He advanced to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon and some other noblemen. The A. D. 1746. Highlanders were drawn up in order of battle on the plain of Culloden, to the number of eight thousand men. The duke marched thither; and, after a short con-

flict, the rebels were totally routed, and the field covered with their dead bodies.

The rebellion being quelled, the ministry resolved to make examples of those who had been concerned in disturbing the peace of the country. Many persons who had acted with the rebel army were executed on Kennington Common near London, at Carlisle, at Penrith, and at York. The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and lord Balmerino, were tried by their peers in Westminster-hall, and found guilty. Cromartie's life was spared; but the other two were beheaded on Tower-hill. Mr. Radcliffe, the titular earl of Derwentwater, suffered the same fate; as did lord Lovat. Some of the rebels were pardoned, and a considerable number were transported to the plantations.

Before this rebellion broke out, the king had been induced to engage in a continental war, which (says an historian) "bore a very distant relation to the interest of this realm." He took the field, in 1743, in defence of the house of Austria, and gained the battle of Dettingen; but he derived little advantage from his success. At Fontenoy, in 1745, the duke of Cumberland was defeated; and the French were afterwards suffered to make great progress in the subjugation of the Netherlands. But, in 1748, peace was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle; on the basis of a mutual restitution of conquests.

While the people were in the full enjoyment of the advantages of peace, an unfortunate event overwhelmed them with grief and consternation. Frederic prince of Wales, in consequence of a cold caught in his garden at Kew, was seized with a pleuritic disorder, and, after a short illness, expired on the 20th day of March, 1751, to the unspeakable affliction of his royal consort, and the unfeigned sorrow of all who wished well to their country.

In 1754, while the powers on the continent of Europe were employed in strengthening their respective interests, and concerting measures for preventing any interruption of the general tranquillity, a fresh rupture was impending between the subjects of Great-Britain and France. Encroachments were made on the British territories in North-America, with that perseverance which seemed to argue a determined spirit of hostility; and, as no hopes of redress were afforded, a naval war commenced, in 1755, without the formality of the usual declaration. The war was not, at first, very for-

tunate. Admiral Byng disgraced the British name by his want of spirit, and was shot for that negligence which occasioned the loss of Minorca.

With a view of strengthening the administration, which had for some years been conducted by Mr. Pelham and the duke of Newcastle, the king admitted into his cabinet Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, who were regarded as sincere patriots, and equally distinguished for their spirit and integrity. However much the people were pleased with these promotions, the heterogeneous union was not of long continuance. As the new members of administration were neither to be persuaded nor intimidated into any measures, which they thought repugnant to the true interest of their country, they were represented to their royal master as obstinate, imperious, and ignorant. These suggestions, artfully inculcated, produced the desired effect. Mr. Pitt, by his majesty's command, resigned the seals of secretary of state, as did Mr. Legge the office of chancellor of the exchequer. But the king, being solicited, in a great number of addresses, to restore them to their employments, soon reinstated them.

During these transactions, Mr. Clive, one of the clerks of the India company, greatly distinguished himself in the East-Indies. After obtaining the rank of colonel, he met with amazing success, not only against the French, but against the natives, whose numerous host he defeated with a very small force at Plassey. He placed a dependent prince on the throne of Bengal, and enriched himself and his chief officers with the spoils of the country.

In 1758, the duke of Marlborough landed near St. Malo, in France, and burned many ships, with a great quantity of naval stores. Lieutenant-general Bligh took Cherbourg, and demolished the fortifications. Senegal and Goree, on the African coast, were also reduced. In North-America, Cape-Breton was taken, while Fort Frontenac and Fort Du-quesne were also obliged to surrender. In 1759, Bos-cawen, near Cape Lagos, and Hawke, near Belle-isle, made great havock among the French fleet; and, at Minden, the allies, but more particularly the British troops, triumphed over a great superiority of force.

The command of an expedition against Quebec was given to general Wolfe, whose courage and perseverance surmounted incredible difficulties. He gained the heights of Abraham, where he fought and defeated the French army,

but was himself killed. As he stood conspicuous in the front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued to give orders without the least emotion; and, while he was advancing at the head of the grenadiers, another ball unfortunately pierced the breast of this young hero, who thus fell in the arms of victory. His death was a national loss, universally lamented.

While the arms of Great-Britain thus prospered in every quarter of the globe, the king was suddenly seized with the agonies of death. His disorder appeared to be a rupture of the right ventricle of the heart, whereby a great quantity of blood was discharged through the aperture, into the surrounding pericardium. He died in the seventy-seventh year of his age, after a reign of thirty-A. D. 1760. three years. The circumstances, which chiefly marked his public character, were a predilection for his native country, and a close attention to the political interests of the Germanic body.

CHAP. I. *continued.*

GEORGE II. was succeeded by his grandson, our present sovereign George III., son of Frederic prince of Wales and the princess of Saxe-Gotha. His majesty's first care, after his accession, was to assemble the parliament, to whom he made a speech, in which he laid great stress upon his *being born and educated a Briton*. From this endearing expression, and also from the general tenor of the speech, the people conceived the fondest hopes of a happy and indulgent reign.

After another fortunate campaign, Mr. Pitt, who had conducted the war with a spirit and success never exceeded by any former minister, and who, by his penetration and sagacity, had dived into the designs and intrigues of the enemy, discovered a private treaty that had been lately concluded between France and Spain, termed the Family Compact. He therefore proposed in council, that a fleet should be sent to intercept the Spanish flotilla, or to block up Cadiz. But this being over-ruled, Mr. Pitt and earl Temple, the only members who supported the measure, thought proper to resign; which produced a change in the ministry.

Even after Spain had added her strength to the power of France, success continued to attend the British arms. Martinique was taken by rear-admiral Rodney and general Monckton; and this conquest was followed by that of the islands of Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago. An expedition was likewise undertaken against the Havannah, the capital of the isle of Cuba. The command of the navy was given to admiral Pococke, and of the land-force to the earl of Albemarle. That important place surrendered to the British dominion, after a siege of more than two months. So lucrative a conquest had never before been made. In ready money and merchandise, the value of the capture did not much fall short of two millions sterling. In the East-Indies, Manilla, the capital of the Philippine Islands, was reduced by admiral Cornish and general Draper.

The earl of Bute, who, upon the king's accession to the throne, had been appointed groom of the stole, and afterwards, in order to take a more open share in the conduct of affairs, had accepted the seals as secretary of state, now succeeded the duke of Newcastle as first lord of the treasury. The latter nobleman being considered as the head of the Whig interest, his resignation was followed by that of several others, of great rank and influence.

Satisfied with the success of the war, the new minister was even more desirous of restoring conquests than of making new acquisitions. He withdrew the subsidy by which the king of Prussia, the illustrious ally of our sovereign, had been encouraged to act with redoubled vigour; and treaties were concluded at Paris, by which Great-Britain received Florida in exchange for the Havannah, and Canada, Cape-Breton, Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Senegal, were retained.

The political dissensions which first arose on the resignation of Mr. Pitt, and became more violent when the duke of Newcastle retired, now rather increased than abated. The anti-ministerialists insisted that the peace was inadequate to our success, and that the interests of the nation had been sacrificed, in order to render the favourite minister secure and permanent in his office. On the other hand, the earl of Bute and his friends strenuously maintained, that all the objects for which the war had commenced were obtained and confirmed by the peace; and that the country was so exhausted both with respect to men and money, that supplies

for another year of warfare could not be raised without involving the nation in the deepest distress. In addition to the popular clamour already excited against lord Bute, on the score of favouritism, and on account of the peace, a tax laid on cyder, subject to the laws of excise, occasioned such violent attacks upon him, that he hastily resigned; and Mr. George Grenville was appointed first lord of the treasury.

Many furious papers and pamphlets were at this time published by the partisans of both sides. But one of the most violent of the whole was a periodical paper entitled *The North Briton*, conducted, it is said, and principally composed, by Mr. Wilkes, member for the borough of Aylesbury. The speech of his majesty to the parliament having been attacked with an indecent freedom in this paper, the earls of Halifax and Egremont, secretaries of state, issued a general warrant for apprehending the author, printer, and publisher, of the said libel. Mr. Wilkes was seized, and sent prisoner to the Tower: but, when he was brought up to the court of Common-Pleas, he was released, as the privilege of parliament was supposed to extend to libels. After fighting a duel with Mr. Martin, late secretary to the treasury, whose character he had attacked in his writings, he thought proper to retire to France. During his absence, he was expelled from the house of commons for another libel, which the house condemned as blasphemous; and, not appearing to the indictments preferred against him, he was outlawed. In 1768, he returned to England, when the outlawry was reversed by the court of King's-Bench; and he submitted to the sentence of a fine and imprisonment.

The most interesting event to this country, during the year 1765, was the promulgation of an impolitic law, requiring stamp-duties from the American colonists. This act kindled the sparks of that conflagration which eventually extended its mischievous effects over Europe.

The spirit of party became so general and violent, that it was productive of frequent changes, not only in public men, but in public measures and counsels. Mr. Grenville and his friends being dismissed, a new administration was formed, called the *Rockingham administration*, the marquis of Rockingham being appointed first lord of the treasury. The chief business of this ministry was to reverse the acts of the preceding cabinet; and, among other reforms, the stamp-act was repealed.

In 1766, another change of administration took place. The duke of Grafton succeeded the marquis of Rockingham; several other alterations were made; and the custody of the privy-seal was bestowed on Mr. Pitt, now created earl of Chatham, upon whose recommendation, it is said, this ministry was formed. The favourable opinion, entertained of the marquis and his friends by the public, could not be supposed to be diminished by the disinterestedness which they had shewn upon quitting their offices, as they retired without securing a placé, pension, or reversion. On the other hand, the present procedure of the pensioned earl of Chatham tended to lessen that popularity of which he had before enjoyed so boundless a share.

About this time peace was restored to the East-Indies by lord Clive; and the company, by purchasing a grant of the revenues of Bengal and its dependencies, acquired the chief authority over three flourishing provinces. A new enemy, however, arose on the borders of the Carnatic. Hyder Ali, who from a common soldier had become prince of Mysore, in confederacy with the viceroy of the Decan, declared war against the English. The council of Madras having sent troops under colonel Smith, he obtained a complete victory; and the viceroy soon made peace with the English. Hyder continued the war with an appearance of animosity; but, in 1769, peace was proposed to him, and accepted.

The flame which had been for some time kindling, between Great-Britain and her American subjects, now began to blaze out. Some duties had been imposed, in 1767, on paper, glass, and other articles, to be paid upon their importation into America, from England. This was considered by the colonists as an invasion of their chartered rights. The general assembly came to a resolution to discontinue the use of all British manufactures, till these duties should be repealed. In this respect they were only gratified in part; for the impost upon tea was ordered to remain, to the great disgust of the provincials, whose invectives against the arbitrary conduct of the ministry were incessant and acrimonious.

The duke of Grafton had proposed, that the Americans should be conciliated by a removal of *all* the late imposts; but, being out-voted in the cabinet, and conscious also of the unpopularity which he had entailed upon himself by infringing the rights of the Middlesex freeholders, who insisted on the admission of Wilkes as their representative, he resigned

A.D. 1770. his employment, which was immediately granted to lord North.

Discontent and disorder continued to prevail in the colonial territories; and war at length arose. The chief malcontents met in a self-constituted congress, and voted against the claims of the parent-state. Arms and ammunition were manufactured with zeal: at Lexington, in 1775, the militia ventured to oppose the troops of the government, and Boston was subjected to a blockade. When some works had been erected on Bunker's-hill, which commanded the town and harbour, general Gage sent two thousand men to assault them. After an obstinate conflict, in which the king's troops severely suffered, the Americans were driven from their post, and the works destroyed. As soon as the news of this battle reached the congress, they appointed George Washington, a gentleman of affluent fortune in Virginia, (who had acquired considerable experience in the command of different bodies of the provincials during the last war,) commander-in-chief of all the American forces.

The Americans, not content with defending the thirteen provinces, made a bold attempt for the conquest of Canada: but general Montgomery, being disappointed in the hope of obtaining a considerable accession of force in that country, and not having the *apparatus* of a regular siege, was unable to reduce the capital. He fell in the assault; and the invaders were repelled with no small loss.

In the next campaign, general Howe had an opportunity of bringing the war to a close, as far as could be judged from the great superiority of his force: but he was not sufficiently active and diligent. He was, indeed, victorious in the battle of Bedford, and gained possession of New-York; while earl Cornwallis over-ran New-Jersey. The members of the congress, after a declaration of independence, fled into Maryland for greater security; and Washington, near the end of the year, had scarcely the shadow of an army. But he and his associates were not discouraged; and, during the winter, he harassed with effect the incautious and negligent enemy.

The incidents of the year 1777 were, in some respects, unfavourable to the republicans, over whom the king's troops prevailed at Brandywine and at German-town; but, in one instance, a very important advantage was obtained by the champions of liberty. A plan was formed for the advance of an army from Canada to the southward, to co-operate

with Howe in a powerful attack upon the revolvers. Burgoyne undertook the expedition; but, after many difficulties, and some fierce conflicts, his troops were obliged to surrender to Gates and Arnold. An expedition up the north river was more successful, under Clinton and Vaughan; the former of whom, soon after, succeeded Howe as commander-in-chief, and, evacuating Philadelphia, retreated with his army to New-York.

In 1778, the French entered into an alliance with the Thirteen United Colonies; and, as affairs wore so gloomy an aspect, the earl of Carlisle, governor Johnstone, and Mr. Eden, were sent as commissioners to treat of peace; but the hour was past, and the terms were rejected with disdain. The war was carried on with mutual animosity; and the whole of Georgia was reduced by the British forces. Hostilities now commenced with France; and admiral Keppel engaged the French fleet. Not a ship was taken on either side; and, some censure being passed on vice-admiral Palliser's conduct, he applied to Keppel for redress, which was denied. He then exhibited articles of accusation against Keppel, who was tried and acquitted; and there the farce ended.

In the fourth campaign, little impression was made upon the Americans. They fought with disadvantage in East-Jersey, and were deprived of considerable territories; but they trusted to the aid of their new allies, who soon after drew the Spaniards into the confederacy.

In 1779, the combined fleets menaced Great-Britain with an invasion; but, after an idle parade before Plymouth, they retreated without the infliction of serious mischief. A French squadron, under the count d'Estaing, sailed to St. Vincent, and reduced that island, as well as Grenada: but, in an attempt which the same commander made with the American general Lincoln for the recovery of Georgia, both loss and disgrace were sustained. In the progress of the war, sir Henry Clinton alarmed the Americans by the reduction of the province of South-Carolina; and Cornwallis gained the battle of Camden: but these triumphs were indecisive. The ardour of freedom was unallayed; and Washington still entertained strong hopes of ultimate success.

The Spanish fleet, and also that of France, were brought to action, in 1780, by admiral Rodney. He captured four ships of the line from don Juan de Langara, near Cape St. Vincent: another blew up during the engagement; and one

was wrecked. But, in the West-Indies, he did not equally prevail over M. de Guichen.

A new enemy now arose to harass Great-Britain. The republican party in Holland, in defiance of all the remonstrances and endeavours of the prince of Orange, clandestinely assisted the Americans; and war was therefore declared against the states. The fleets of the two nations met near the Dogger-bank, in 1781; and both parties fought with equal intrepidity. An expedition was ordered for the reduction of the Cape of Good-Hope: but the enterprise was rendered abortive by the approach of a French squadron.

Earl Cornwallis continued to act with spirit in North-America. He opposed, at Guildford, a much greater force than that which he commanded, and compelled his adversaries to retreat with considerable loss. He then marched into Virginia, hoping to reclaim that province to full subjection.

General Washington, not being seriously molested by sir Henry Clinton, resolved to try the effect of a sudden attack upon Cornwallis. He judiciously concerted, with the count de Rochambeau, a plan of co-operation, by which the earl and his army were surrounded at York-town, and constrained to capitulate.

The constant majorities in favour of the court now began to diminish, and the ministry lost ground upon every important question. At length the commons shook off the yoke, and declared themselves hostile to a continuance of the war. Lord North signified his intention of resigning; and a complete and radical change took place. The marquis of Rockingham was appointed first lord of the treasury; lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, secretaries of state; Mr. Burke, paymaster of the forces; lord Camden, president of the council; the duke of Richmond, master of the ordnance; and Keppel, first lord of the admiralty. Measures of a pacific tendency were immediately adopted; but the war still continued in different scenes of action.

Admiral Rodney, whom the new ministers intended to recall, obtained a signal victory, near Dominica, over the count de Grasse, whose line was broken by a skilful and masterly manœuvre. Five ships of the line were taken, and one, in consequence of a furious broadside from the vessel in which Rodney particularly acted, foundered during the engagement.

In the East-Indies, a war had for some time raged between the English and their old enemy, Hyder Ali. The Mahrattas were also hostile to the company, over whose troops they prevailed in several conflicts: but, when hostilities were renewed after the apparent adjustment of a treaty, success attended the British arms. Having concluded an alliance with the Mahrattas, Hyder invaded the Carnatic, and defeated the troops of Baillie and Fletcher: but he was checked, in his progress to Madras, by the vigour of sir Eyre Coote. Sir Edward Hughes crippled the navy of Hyder, took Negapatam from the Dutch, and opposed the superior force of the French admiral Suffrein in four engagements.

The new cabinet sustained a severe shock by the lamented death of the marquis of Rockingham. His successor was the earl of Shelburne, whose appointment gave such disgust to Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and lord John Cavendish, that they resigned their offices, because they wished for the promotion of the more obsequious duke of Portland. The new chancellor of the exchequer was Mr. William Pitt, (son of the illustrious earl of Chatham,) who was only in the twenty-fourth year of his age, but had already distinguished himself as a very able speaker.

While the earl and his associates were promoting the return of peace, the British arms derived additional lustre from the gallant defence of Gibraltar. General Elliot, the governor of that fortress, had occasionally suffered the besiegers, without interruption, nearly to bring their works to perfection, and then almost entirely demolished them. The Spaniards, at length, made a very formidable attack upon the fortress, with ten large battering-ships, from six to four-hundred tons burthen, under the command of admiral Moreno. A heavy cannonading was kept up on both sides, till at length the ships were set on fire by red-hot balls from the bastions, and then destroyed by the gun-boats, under the conduct of captain Roger Curtis.

On the 20th of January, 1783, preliminary articles of peace were signed at Versailles. But the general pacification was not completed during the administration of the earl of Shelburne; for, when the terms of peace underwent a scrutiny in the house of commons, they were so severely censured, that the ministry, of which that nobleman was the head, found itself obliged to give way to Mr. Fox and lord North, who had by this time formed that famous coalition, which has been so much the subject of wonder and

reprobation. The duke of Portland was promoted to be first lord of the treasury; lord North and Mr. Fox were appointed secretaries of state; and lord John Cavendish again became chancellor of the exchequer.

After a long delay, the definitive treaties were completed; by which Grenada and some other islands in the West-Indies, taken by the French during the war, were restored to Great-Britain, and Minorca and the two provinces of Florida were ceded to Spain. The thirteen colonies were declared to be free and independent states, all claims of dominion over them being renounced by the king, who purchased this disgrace with many thousands of lives, and above one hundred millions of treasure.

CHAP. I. *continued.*

THE return of peace was hailed by the nation with joy. Even if the war had been attended with frequent victories, and with the most splendid success, every votary of religion and humanity would have wished for its termination: but, as it was ill-conducted and (with few exceptions) disastrous, a cessation of its horrors became more particularly desirable.

Of the great political objects which required the speedy attention of Mr. Fox and his associates, the most important was a reform in the administration of British India. Such enormous abuses, such flagrant injustice, such a series of violence and rapine, had prevailed, that the English name had become a bye-word of reproach; and it was justly apprehended, that a league of the native powers against the tyranny of the company's servants would be an early result of the established system, if a strong remedy should not be applied to the disease. Commercial mismanagement had been added to political misgovernment; and the country, under such circumstances, threatened to be a burthensome appendage to Great-Britain, rather than a beneficial dependency. It was therefore resolved by the ministers, that the whole power of the company should be transferred for four years to seven directors, whom even the king should not have the power of displacing without the consent of the parliament. A bill to this effect was introduced; and, after the most animated debates, it was sanctioned by a very considerable majority of the house of commons. The other

assembly would also have assented to the measure, if the king's strong disapprobation of it had not been privately intimated to many of the peers. His majesty apprehended that the great power and patronage, which the leaders of the coalition would derive from this bold and ambitious scheme, would render him a cipher in his own court, subject to the domineering arrogance of ministers whom he had reluctantly accepted. His interference was censured by a vote of the commons; but, being exhorted to act with spirit, he dismissed Mr. Fox and his friends from the cabinet, and committed the chief direction of affairs to Mr. Pitt, who, assisted by the lord-chancellor Thurlow, earl Gower, lord Sydney, the marquis of Carmarthen, and the duke of Richmond, prepared to oppose with vigour the formidable majority which influenced the deliberations of the lower house. For two months, the contest was warmly prosecuted; and Mr.

A. D. 1784. Pitt could not finally prevail, without a premature dissolution of the parliament. He then procured a commanding superiority of votes, and fully established his ministerial power. He regulated at his discretion the affairs of India, and attended with zeal to national concerns. His attempt to improve the connection with Ireland was defeated by that legislative independence which the sister-kingdom had recently obtained. In his financial schemes he was more successful. His plan for the gradual reduction of the national debt, by the annual appropriation of a million of pounds sterling, allayed the fears of those who were alarmed at the enormous increase of the public debt.

Willing to harmonise with France, the king concluded a commercial treaty with Louis XVI.; but, as it did not satisfy the wishes of the French nation, it was not carried into full effect. Both princes, at that time, were desirous of interfering in the affairs of Holland. The republican party threatened the stadtholder with a serious diminution of his power; and, if Louis had adhered to his promise of supporting that faction by arms, the prince of Orange would probably have been obliged to yield. Taking advantage of the irresolution of the French king, the Prussian court sent an army into Holland, under the command of the duke of A. D. 1787. Brunswick; and Great-Britain made preparations both naval and military. The speedy reduction of Amsterdam subdued the firmness of the republicans, who acquiesced in an augmentation of the stadtholder's power and prerogative.

A triple alliance was now concluded by his majesty with Prussia and Holland: but, soon after the adoption of this judicious measure, he lost, by the suspension of his faculties, the power of political judgement and discrimination. For several months, the two factions contended for the supremacy of the state; but, when the regential arrangements were nearly completed, the king's recovery was announced.

While Mr. Pitt was exulting in the continuance of that power, which he seemed to have been on the point of losing by the visitation of God, his attention was called to the affairs of France. The great disorder of the finances of that kingdom had induced Louis to convoke a meeting of the *notables*, by whom he was advised to summon a national council. He therefore assembled the nobility, clergy, and commons, and thus gave occasion for the display of that zeal for liberty, which his impolitic encouragement of the American revolt had propagated among his subjects. The popular representatives easily overpowered the two other branches of the legislature, and reduced the king to a state of dependence. After some years of agitation and convulsion, the democratic leaders dethroned Louis, and framed a republican system. Dreading the diffusion of revolutionary principles, the British court took strong measures of counter-action; and, when the deposed prince had been sacrificed to the brutal and sanguinary rage of the Jacobins, the French envoy was dismissed with indignation. War was now declared against Great-Britain and Holland by the republican chiefs; A. D. 1793. and, on the other hand, our court endeavoured to organise a general association of the European powers for the ruin of the new government. Hostilities had previously commenced between France and Austria, to the great disadvantage of the latter; and a Prussian army had penetrated into Champagne without effect. Condé and Valenciennes were taken by the English and their associates; but the duke of York was driven from Dunkirk with disgrace; and Toulon, which was surrendered to lord Hood, was re-taken by the French. In the progress of the war, little impression was made upon the new republicans, who were animated with extraordinary spirit by the supposed enjoyment of liberty. Robespierre, who for some time had the chief sway, gave vigour to the measures of national defence; and, while he checked the intrusion of foreign arms, he raged with remorseless barbarity against all who in any way opposed, or who merely ventured

to disapprove, his conduct and proceedings. The widow and sister of Louis were put to death, as enemies of the republic; and, in all parts of the country, murder was the order of the day. Even after the reign of terror had ceased by the triumph of another party over the upstart tyrant, various enormities disgraced the government, and the promised blessings of liberty were not conceded.

All the efforts of the allies could not prevent the complete success of the French in the Austrian Netherlands and in Holland; nor were the restless invaders sufficiently checked in Germany, Spain, or Italy. But their naval and colonial power was greatly impaired by British valour. Lord Howe, in 1794, captured a considerable part of a fleet which dared to oppose him; and Martinique and other islands were reduced.

When the kings of Prussia and Spain had concluded peace with France, his Britannic majesty, in compliance with the popular wish, opened a negotiation; but, when lord Malmesbury insisted on the restoration of the Netherlands, he was abruptly dismissed from Paris; and the rulers of France sent an armament to invade Ireland. The attempt was baffled by tempestuous weather; and a descent on the coast of Wales rather amused than alarmed the nation. The Spaniards, being impelled to war by French influence, severely suffered in a naval engagement, in 1797, by the courage and skill of Jervis and Nelson. By taking arms in the cause of France, the Dutch also exposed themselves to the mischiefs of maritime hostility, and were not only defeated by Duncan, but were deprived of the Cape of Good-Hope, of their possessions in Ceylon, and of the isles of Amboyna and Banda.

A mutiny among the seamen, and a rebellion in Ireland, roused all the vigour of the ministry. An increase of pay was allowed to the mal-content sailors; but their demands of a relaxation of discipline were treated with contempt. Many ships at the Nore were for some weeks in a state of absolute revolt, under the sway of Parker and a council of delegates: but submission was at length enforced. The Irish rebellion was of longer duration, and far more mischievous in its progress. Many sanguinary conflicts occurred in the summer of the year 1798; and acts of wanton cruelty attended the occasional triumph of each party. The rebels, who were principally Romanists, the most numerous and the least favoured part of the Hibernian population, were nearly

overpowered, when a body of French landed to assist them. General Lake was repelled by the enemy at Castlebar; but, on the approach of the marquis Cornwallis, resistance ceased, and a general dispersion ensued.

About the same time, the unjustifiable invasion of Egypt, by the French, gave their adversaries an opportunity of establishing, beyond all competition, the maritime fame of Great-Britain. In the bay of Aboukir, Nelson attacked a fleet which had every advantage of situation, captured nine ships of the line, and destroyed others.

A new war in India increased the British triumphs. Tippoo, the son of Hyder Ali, had been vanquished by lord Cornwallis, in 1792, and deprived of one-half of his dominions; but, as he was supposed to be implacably hostile to the English, Mysore was invaded, in 1799, by general Harris, and the capital besieged. The sultan fell in the operations of defence; and his territories were dismembered by the allied conquerors; for the nizam of the Decan, and the Mahrattas, had joined in the fortunate enterprise.

An expedition to Holland, in which the Russians co-operated with the troops of our sovereign, did not meet with the desired success. The natives were not cordially disposed to accept the services of the invaders; and, after an useless display of courage, the army purchased a safe retreat by the delivery of eight thousand prisoners without exchange.

The danger of a separation of Ireland from the British sovereignty, in consequence of the intrigues of democratic agents and revolutionists, produced, both in the cabinet and the parliament, the desire of a legislative incorporation. As the scheme was far from being agreeable to the Irish nation, all the arts of corruption were practised, with a view of securing a majority in the two houses; and that great point was at length gained. The manly eloquence of Grattan and Ponsonby, and the argumentative ability of Foster, were exerted in vain: the dignity of the realm was sacrificed to political expediency; and it was ordained, that it should be represented by thirty-two peers and one hundred commoners, who should meet at Westminster, with the members for England, Wales, and Scotland. This union took place on the first day of the nineteenth century.

At this time, the war, instead of giving way to an advantageous peace, was extended to the north by the caprice of Paul, the Russian potentate, who detained all the British

vessels in his ports, and proclaimed a renewal of the armed neutrality, by which the empress Catharine had opposed the high maritime claims of Great-Britain. The Danes and A.D. 1801. Swedes having readily entered into his views, an armament was sent to the Baltic, to enforce their dereliction of the confederacy. Lord Nelson, not discouraged by the formidable works and floating batteries near Copenhagen, commenced a fierce attack, and made dreadful havoc. If the Danes had known that Paul was then dead, (for he was strangled by a party of bold conspirators,) they would not perhaps have resisted; and they now submitted to the demands of our court, as did also the king of Sweden, and Alexander, the new Russian emperor.

The French not being dislodged from Egypt by all the efforts of the Turks, a British army undertook that task. Sir Ralph Abercromby engaged the enemy near Alexandria, and fell, like Wolfe, in the arms of victory. Grand Cairo was afterwards taken; and Egypt was restored to the dominion of the Porte.

Napoleon Bonaparte, a Corsican adventurer, who had acquired the supreme authority in France, under the title of first consul, had repeatedly expressed a desire of peace. His overtures were rejected by Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville; but, when those ministers had retired from the cabinet, on finding the king disinclined to accede to the claims of the catholics, Mr. Addington, the succeeding premier, agreed to a negotiation. It was stipulated, in the treaty of Amiens, that A.D. 1802. Great-Britain should only retain Trinidad and the Dutch territories in Ceylon, restoring every other conquest; that the Cape of Good Hope should be a free port; and that Malta (which the English had taken from the French in 1800) should be given up to its former possessors, the knights of St. John.

While peace prevailed in Europe, the tranquillity of British India was disturbed by a new war, which seems rather to have arisen from the ambition of the superior servants of the company, than from the real encroachments or hostilities of any of the native powers. The peishwah of the Mahratta state had been humbled into submission; but Scindia, a potent chieftain, was suspected of entertaining hostile views; and the rajah of Berar was also an object of jealousy. Great preparations were made to reduce these princes to a state of subserviency; and, when sir Arthur Wellesley had triumphed

at Assi, and Lake had been victorious at Dehli and at Laswari, such treaties were concluded as seemed, in a great measure, to accomplish the object of the court of Calcutta.

The British nation in general rejoiced at the return of peace: but a party of senators clamorously called for an immediate renewal of the war, alleging that Bonaparte, far from being idle during the suspension of arms, would take every opportunity of extending his power. They had certainly some reason for this opinion; but it did not necessarily follow, that the treaty ought to be immediately renounced or infringed on the part of the British government. Discussions and disputes quickly ensued. The ministers did not object to the expedition for the recovery of the French possessions in the island of St. Domingo; but they complained of arbitrary encroachments and territorial seizures in Italy, of the retention of a considerable army for the purpose of enslaving the Hollanders, and of the attempts for the annihilation of the independence of Switzerland. As these acts of ambitious injustice tended materially to alter the relative situation of the contracting parties in the late treaty, by increasing the power of France, while that of Great-Britain remained stationary, the spirit of the agreement was supposed to be violated; and Malta was therefore retained, with a view of augmenting the resources of Great-Britain. Napoleon was inflamed with rage, when he found that his applications for a surrender of that island were treated with contempt; but his indignation yielded to forbearance; and he suffered the king and his ministers to be the ostensible aggressors in the new war.

Under the pretence of great preparations in the ports of France and Holland, the diplomatic intercourse ceased, and letters of marque were issued against the French, A.D. 1803. within fourteen months after the adjustment of the definitive treaty. The first consul immediately resolved, that all British subjects, then in the territories of the republic, should suffer, in some respect, for the supposed injustice of their sovereign; and he ordered that they should be confined within a certain extent of country, and be liable to farther punishment if they should attempt to escape. He gave directions for the equipment of a great number of gunboats and transports, with a view to an invasion of this island; and, though the republican rulers had, during the former war, admitted the neutrality of Hanover, he sent an army to take possession of that electorate.

For some time after the renewal of the war, the incidents which attended its progress were not very remarkable. Some islands and colonial settlements were indeed taken from the French and the Dutch; but, as it was supposed that these were mere objects of eventual restitution, such conquests made little impression upon the public. In the mean time, an alarm arose from an insurrection in Ireland, planned by Emmet and Russell, who were men of ability and the most determined spirit. The most distinguished victim of seditious rage was the chief-justice Kilwarden. Other loyal subjects suffered in desultory conflicts with the insurgents: but the commotions, which did not extend far from Dublin, were speedily quelled by the vigour of the government, and the chief instigators and most active agents were capitally punished. A conspiracy had been previously detected in England. Colonel Despard, not thinking himself sufficiently noticed in the lavish distribution of honours and rewards, and having imbibed a strong tincture of the revolutionary *mania*, aimed at the overthrow of the existing establishment, and seduced some soldiers into his schemes. The jury, satisfied with the evidence adduced against him and his confederates, pronounced verdicts of guilt; and the colonel, with six others, suffered death.

As Mr. Addington's administration was deemed too feeble and inefficient for the exigency and dangers of the crisis, Mr. Pitt was restored to ministerial power. A.D. 1804. Yet his exertions were not calculated to strike terror into the French, as his former efforts had served rather to promote the extension of their power, than to reduce it within reasonable bounds. To repel the danger of invasion, he augmented the regular force of the kingdom; and, with a view of dividing and distracting the attention of the enemy, he endeavoured to form a grand continental confederacy. At the same time, Napoleon continued his encroachments, and strengthened his government in every possible mode. He detected a conspiracy of Georges, the Chouan leader, of the ex-generals Pichegru and Moreau; and, on pretence of the necessity of establishing his authority, for the universal benefit of the nation, and the maintenance of order and security, he declared himself emperor of the French, and procured a decree of the conservative senate for the continuance of that dignity in his family. To give the greater weight to this assumption of a splendid title, he was anointed and crowned by the pope.

While the new emperor was stimulating the subservient court of Madrid to join him in the war, he pre-tended to be earnestly desirous of peace, and addressed a letter to his Britannic majesty, exhorting him to desist from a hopeless contest. The king replied, that such a pacification as might not be incompatible with security and honour, was the great object of his wish; but it would be expedient, he said, to consult some friendly powers before a promise of negotiation should be given. Observing symptoms of partiality toward the French in the conduct of the Spanish monarch, he recalled his diplomatic minister from Madrid; and, by ordering an attack upon such ships as should not submit to a search or to detention, he drew from the offended prince a declaration of war. The defiance was answered by our court with due spirit; and ample supplies of seamen and soldiers were readily voted by the parliament.

Mr. Pitt's proposal of a systematic concert among the European powers, met only with partial acceptance. The emperor Alexander promised to concur in such an association as might check the alarming progress of Bonaparte's ambitious tyranny; and Francis, the Austrian potentate, declared his intention, as did also Gustavus IV. of Sweden, of acceding to the proposed league. But the king of Prussia,* whose numerous and well-disciplined army might have been effectively employed on this occasion, contented himself with giving a loose and indefinite promise; and the Bavarian elector and other German princes were more disposed to co-operate with Napoleon than to enter into the confederacy against him.

The Austrians having made an irruption into Bavaria, the ruler of France complained to the senate of this act of aggression, and declared that he would take speedy and exemplary vengeance for the hostile insult. He crossed the Rhine and the Danube with a great force, animated with the most sanguine hopes of victory. At Ulm he procured the surrender of a considerable army. He intimidated Francis and his court into a retreat from Vienna; and, attacking the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz, he was gratified with a signal triumph, which enabled him to dictate the terms of peace to the unfortunate emperor, whose northern ally, being thus precluded from a vigorous prosecution of the war, reluctantly retreated to his own dominions.

* Son and successor of that prince who vainly endeavoured to crush the revolution in France.

While the British court feelingly lamented the disastrous issue of the continental campaign, the joy of maritime success pervaded the nation. After a long search for the French and Spanish fleets, lord Nelson was gratified with an opportunity of action, on the 21st of October, near Cape Trafalgar. With twenty-seven sail of the line, he boldly engaged thirty-three; and, instead of being doubtful of the event, he was only apprehensive that the enemy might avoid a close contest. While his flag-ship headed one column of his squadron, his able and intrepid associate, lord Collingwood, conducted the other to a fierce attack. When the admiral had made a vigorous impression upon two of the French ships, he was pointedly assailed by musquetry, to which he exposed himself by his forwardness and alacrity; and, to the regret of all admirers of naval skill, courage, and patriotism, he received a mortal wound. While he remained in a disabled state, (and he did not long linger in agony,) the victory was secured. Nineteen ships appeared to have been taken; but, as it was impossible, amidst tempestuous weather, to bring off every ostensible prize, orders were given by lord Collingwood for the destruction of those vessels which could not be secured. The result is thus stated by an historian: "Four prizes reached Gibraltar: fifteen were destroyed or lost; and, of the fourteen which retreated, six were wrecked, and four, in the ensuing month, were captured, after a very spirited resistance, by sir Richard Strachan."

For this brilliant victory, the king ordered a public thanksgiving; and the remains of the hero were conveyed, through the city, in pompous but melancholy procession, to St. Paul's church. The general loss, from the grief which it excited, seemed to be *individualised*. It was felt in every bosom: it was seen in every eye: it will be remembered by every generation. The national gratitude was evinced by the parliamentary grant of a large sum, for the purchase of an estate, intended as a perpetual accompaniment of the title.

The frustration of the minister's hopes of a successful continental campaign, had an injurious effect upon his health, which had for some time been seriously impaired. He could not avoid rejoicing at the ruin of the hostile fleets; but his joy was overpowered by the disastrous issue of the battle of Austerlitz. He died at the age of forty-six years. That zeal for liberty which he displayed in his youth was soon relaxed by the smiles of the court; and he became as ready to sup-

port the high claims of the prerogative, as if he had never enlisted in the ranks of opposition. He was himself disinterested; but he connived at the rapacity, if not at the gross dishonesty, of public officers. He had great talents for oratory; but he did not possess, in an equal degree, the profundity of political wisdom.

Lord Grenville, who, though a zealot for war, had coalesced with Mr. Fox, the strenuous advocate of peace, and had refused to join Mr. Pitt on his resumption of power, because his new friend was not then invited into the cabinet, was now requested by the king to form such an administration as would, in his opinion, promote the public interest. Mr. Fox was re-appointed secretary of state for the foreign department: Mr. Erskine, whose hostility to the war had been equally strong, was intrusted with the great seal: lord Grenville was placed at the head of the treasury, while lord Henry Petty was declared chancellor of the exchequer; and to Mr. Grey was committed the direction of the admiralty. As the partisans of these statesmen loudly boasted of that union of talent which the new arrangements exhibited, this combination was sneeringly called, by Mr. Pitt's friends, the administration of *all the talents*.

From Mr. Fox and his colleagues, two objects of interesting concern were expected by the public. One was, the commencement of a negotiation for peace; the other was, the abolition of the slave-trade. Due attention was paid to both these considerations. The former failed, in consequence of the insatiate ambition of Bonaparte; while the latter was put into a train of adjustment.

The extraordinary conduct of the king of Prussia menaced Great-Britain with new hostilities. He had been persuaded to surrender Cleves and other territories to Napoleon, by whom he was encouraged to indemnify himself by a seizure of Hanover. He easily gained possession of the electorate, by the quiet retreat of all the allied troops, except the Swedes, whom he compelled to seek refuge in the duchy of Mecklenburg; and this act of violence was followed by an exclusion of all British vessels from his ports. But this storm was soon allayed. Frederic William repented of his indiscretion; and, being threatened with territorial spoliation, and alarmed at the audacious invasion of the rights of the Germanic body by the sovereign of France, (who had formed a league of dependent states under the denomination of the Rhenish confederacy,) he resolved to oppose by arms the

unjustifiable enterprises of that ambitious tyrant. He informed Alexander of his altered intentions, and requested the co-operation of that prince: but he did not wait for the arrival of a Russian army, before he made those military movements which drew Napoleon into the field. The general whom he employed was the duke of Brunswick; and under him served the prince of Hohenlohe and Blücher, either of whom would have better exercised the functions of commander in chief than the aged favourite of the court. At Jena and Auerstadt, the French were victorious: Berlin was seized and garrisoned; Stettin, Magdeburg, and other towns of great strength, were quickly reduced; and ruin seemed to impend over the unfortunate Frederic. During this campaign, Hanover was again subjected to the French yoke. The Russians at length made their appearance, when the enemy had penetrated to the Vistula: but they could not, with all their exertions, effectually support the Prussian monarch.

Consigning his late offences to oblivion, the British ministers declared their intention of assisting him: but they were so tardy in their movements, that he was nearly ruined while they were ostensibly making arrangements for his relief. Other objects seemed to them more worthy of attention. They directed their views to South-America, to Italy, and to Turkey.

When the Cape of Good Hope had been taken by an armament which Mr. Pitt had sent out, sir Home Popham, unauthorised indeed by the orders which he had received, sailed from that settlement, with a small force, to Buenos-Ayres, which he quickly reduced. Encouraged by the intelligence of this unexpected success, and dreaming of a great extension of the British trade and colonial power, the ministers sent a reinforcement to secure the acquisition, not then knowing that it was soon recovered by the Spaniards.

In Italy, British troops were employed in the defence of the house of Bourbon against encroachment and usurpation. Ferdinand IV. had been deprived of the kingdom of Naples by the arms of Napoleon, who had placed his brother Joseph on the throne: but the usurper did not reign in full peace or security, being harassed by occasional insurrections. While the Calabrians were in arms, sir John Stuart, conducting some regiments from Sicily, endeavoured to support the insurgents, by attacking the French general Regnier, near Maida. With an inferior force, unaided by cavalry, he defeated seven thousand men, who were vigorously assisted by

their equestrian comrades: but this victory had no important result.

Unwilling to suffer the Turks to languish in repose, the British and Russian courts, not content with undermining the French influence over the divan, concerted schemes of hostility not altogether just or honourable. But, before this determination was carried into effect, the leader of the cabinet yielded to fate.

Mr. Fox did not, when he was in power, manifest that high degree of political ability which his friends ascribed to him: but it may be alleged, that the shortness of his career, and his declining health, concurred to baffle their expectations. Even his eloquence did not seem so impressive, on the treasury-bench, as it had been while he presided over the ranks of opposition. Yet no unprejudiced person will deny, that he possessed the talents both of an orator and a statesman.

His official successor was Mr. Grey, with whom lord Grenville acted on harmonious terms, even when it was pretended that he wished to renounce all connection with those who had strenuously opposed the war. In one point they more particularly agreed. Both wished to favour the catholics; and they hoped, by their persuasive influence, to subdue the king's reluctance to the encouragement of those sectaries.

The new continental war was not brought to a close in one campaign; for the king of Prussia was animated, by the exhortations of the Russian emperor, to a spirited prosecution of the contest. In the mean time, the British court, without a striking display of policy or judgement, attended to other concerns.

An expedition was undertaken for the conquest of Montevideo; and, after a siege of eleven days, that town was taken by assault. An attempt was also made for the re-capture of Buenos-Ayres; but it was so ill conducted, that the troops were compelled to retire after a severe loss; and their commander, Whitelocke, even consented to restore Montevideo, and to abandon all hopes of territorial acquisition in South-America. A.D. 1807.

When the Russians had invaded the dominions of the grand signor, and seized three provinces with little difficulty, a British fleet passed the Dardanelles, destroyed a Turkish squadron, and reached the vicinity of Constantinople. The Porte negotiated, with a view of gaining time for hostile preparations; and, when the unreasonable demands, proposed

as the basis of an accommodation, had been rejected with spirit, the fleet no longer advanced, but hastily retreated, to avoid the danger of ruin.

Remembering the former success of the English in Egypt, the king gave orders for an invasion of that country. A descent was made with a small force, and Alexandria was taken with facility: but considerable loss was sustained in an attack upon Rosetta; and the endangered invaders were constrained to evacuate the Egyptian territory.

When this misfortune occurred, the new ministers had lost their power. They proposed to his majesty, not that all the claims of the catholics should be conceded, but that the highest stations in the military and naval departments should be placed within their reach. The royal acquiescence was apparently obtained: but, in consequence of some interviews with politicians of the opposite party, who wished to promote the disgrace of *all the talents*, the seeming consent was revoked; and it was alleged, that such concessions were inconsistent with the coronation-oath, as they might be injurious to the protestant settlement. It was therefore required, on the part of a great personage, that the ministers, who had dared to suggest the adoption of so impolitic a measure, should purchase their continuance in office by signing a strong protest against the renewal of the proposition. They objected to the demand, and were therefore dismissed; and, as their public conduct had not given general satisfaction, the ensuing change was not severely reprobated, except by their devoted partisans.

The duke of Portland, who had joined Mr. Pitt amidst the alarm which that minister had studiously excited by his artful clamours against Jacobinism, now re-obtained the highest ministerial dignity: but he was as subservient to his new colleagues as he had before been to Mr. Fox. Mr. Spencer Perceval, who had practised at the bar with reputation, and whose fluency of speech had induced the court to believe that he possessed great political and financial capabilities, resigned the hopes of an elevated station in the law, and accepted the post of chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Hawkesbury (son of the king's confidential friend, Mr. Charles Jenkinson) was appointed secretary of state, with lord Castlereagh, Mr. Pitt's chief agent in the accomplishment of the union with Ireland, and Mr. Canning, who had distinguished himself as an anti-jacobin writer. Earl Camden and the earl of Westmoreland did not add to this pha-

lanx the weight of talent; and the lord-chancellor Eldon, though he is allowed to be an able judge, is not an adept in political science. Such were the men who, with the addition of lord Mulgrave, earl Bathurst, and the earl of Chatham, were selected to guide the vessel of the state amidst the storms with which it was threatened.

Being disappointed in the hope of an ample majority in the house of commons, the duke and his colleagues took an early opportunity of dissolving the parliament, though new elections had taken place in the preceding autumn. They gained, by this bold step, the point at which they aimed, and secured a plenitude of power. In taking a survey of continental concerns, they saw with regret the progress of the French; yet they did not exert themselves for the rescue of the king of Prussia from the perils in which he was involved. That monarch and his ally continued to oppose the powerful enemy: but, at Eylau, the confederate troops were severely harassed, if not defeated; and, at Friedland, they were nearly overwhelmed. The discouraged princes then solicited and obtained the indulgence of an armistice; and the treaty of Tilsit soon followed, by which Frederic was obliged to cede above a third part of his dominions, and to submit to the exercise of the most galling tyranny over the rest. Alexander even entered into a league with Napoleon, whom he suffered to be the chief director of the affairs of the continent, with a proviso that he himself should occupy the next station in point of power.

Aware of the arbitrary views of Bonaparte, and concluding that the court of Copenhagen would soon be compelled to concur in his vindictive schemes against Great-Britain, whose commerce with the continent he had lately endeavoured to ruin by a decree issued at Berlin, the king offered his protection to the Danes, on condition of the surrender of all their ships of war, of which he promised to take honourable care. When he found the court unwilling to comply with this haughty demand, he ordered an attack of the capital; the bombardment of which, for four days, proved so mischievously effectual, that all the ships were given up, and brought away in triumph. The Portuguese navy, on the same pretence, would have been seized in the same manner, if the prince, who governed in the name of his imbecile mother, had not consented to employ it in the conveyance of the court to Brasil, on the appearance of a French army.

The undefended realm was quickly over-run by the invaders, who basely plundered and cruelly oppressed the people.

To repel or obviate the attack upon the British commerce, the privy-council issued orders, requiring the masters of all trading-vessels, bound to France, or to any country in which the influence of Bonaparte predominated, to stop at one of our ports, and purchase, by the payment of a duty, permission to prosecute the intended voyage; and announcing, at the same time, the blockade of all the European ports from which British ships were excluded. On the other hand, all vessels which should submit to these imperious ordinances, were declared, by the ruler of France, to be *denationalised*, and consequently liable to seizure.

Between the great contending powers, the Austrian emperor offered his mediation; but it was deemed unworthy of acceptance; and, when the Russian potentate had also testified a desire of restoring complete peace to Europe, the declaration was treated with contempt, because it was considered as insincere. The envoys of those two princes were now recalled from England; and the king of Prussia, in consequence of the late treaty, prohibited all commercial or friendly intercourse between his subjects and those of Great-Britain.

CHAP. I. *concluded.*

THE British horizon, at the close of the year 1807, seemed to exhibit a clouded and gloomy aspect. The chief powers of Europe, over-awed by the policy and the military genius of Bonaparte, seemed content to revolve round his axis, as the *satellites* of a superior planet. They were ready to contribute to the humiliation, if not to the ruin, of Great-Britain, instead of aiding and supporting her exertions for a restoration of the balance of power. The king of Sweden, alone, appeared to be animated with a sincere desire of crushing the fortunate adventurer, who aimed at the subjugation of Europe: but his power was circumscribed within very narrow limits, and he could not ably or properly direct even the means and resources which he possessed. At this crisis (says an historian) "no immediate hopes of rescue or relief were generally entertained: yet, to the discerning few, a glimmering ray appeared in the western horizon, which

seemed to penetrate through the gloom, and to hold out the prospect of a renovation of light."

The prospect to which this writer alludes was afforded by the state of Spain. Charles IV. was a weak prince, who meanly submitted to the sway of Godoy, an ambitious upstart, the confidential friend and favourite of his licentious queen. Napoleon, having allured this dictator of the Spanish cabinet into his views by a treaty for the dismemberment of Portugal, in which kingdom the minister was to be gratified with territorial power, sent an army into Spain with the ostensible view of promoting the execution of the unjustifiable agreement. The invaders were suffered to seize some important fortresses; and the king, who was unprepared for resistance, was exhorted to conciliate Bonaparte by a surrender of his frontier provinces. Perplexed and confounded, he became still more unfit for action than he had long been; and he would probably have fled from the rising storm to Mexico, Paraguay, or Peru, if the people had not insisted upon his continuance in Europe. A conspiracy was formed against the prince of peace, as Godoy was styled; who, escaping the danger of assassination, was committed to prison. Charles then resigned the crown to his son Ferdinand, who did not shrink from the A. D. 1808. burthen of royalty.

The king's abdication did not suit the immediate purpose of Napoleon, who wished that the nominal authority might remain with Charles, until his own schemes should be more fully matured. He therefore desired the father to resume his authority, and endeavoured to inveigle the son into his power. Ferdinand fell into the snare, and repaired to Bayonne; while Murat, Bonaparte's brother-in-law, trusting to the influence of the French army, acted as governor of the realm, in the name of Charles. His arbitrary conduct excited a riot at Madrid; and he punished the people by a brutal massacre. Both Charles and Ferdinand afterwards resigned their pretensions, in favour of Napoleon, who, having summoned many of the Spanish nobles to Bayonne, framed a new constitution for the disordered kingdom, and gave the sovereignty to his brother Joseph.

These particulars may not appear to the reader to be closely connected with the history of Great-Britain; but, if it be considered that the convulsions of Spain furnished our court with an opportunity of glorious interposition, and that our diplomatic ministers and military commanders sub-

sequently took the lead in the affairs of that kingdom, this introductory sketch will not be deemed irrelevant.

The indignation which was excited by the injustice of Napoleon and the barbarity of Murat, did not immediately exert itself; but, when it had been inflamed by mutual and general consultation, the chief citizens of Seville formed a *junta* or administrative council, proclaimed Ferdinand VII., and declared war against the French. A desire of powerful aid directed the eyes of all toward Great-Britain; and, in consequence of applications from different provinces, useful supplies were quickly sent to the peninsula. The French were attacked with spirit; and the zeal of patriotism was soon invigorated by partial success. A strong body of the invaders surrendered at Baylen: Valencia was bravely defended; and Saragossa was maintained against a succession of furious assaults. The Portuguese realm, in the mean time, was recovered by the rising zeal of the natives, and by the exertions of a small British army, commanded by sir Arthur Wellesley. This gallant officer had distinguished himself in India against the Mahratta chieftains, whose power was dreaded by the company; and he established his fame by his campaigns in the peninsula.

Hostilities also arose in the north of Europe. The king of Sweden, being attacked by the Russians, obtained from Great-Britain a considerable subsidy for the defence of his dominions; and troops were likewise sent to his assistance; but, in consequence of a misunderstanding between Gustavus and sir John Moore, they remained inactive, while Finland was wrested from the Swedes. As the king could not oppose the enemy with effect, he was advised by our court to agree to a peace; but he scorned the idea of submission, and resolved to continue the war, to the great disgust of his principal subjects, who, conspiring against him, deprived him of his sovereignty, and raised his uncle to the throne.

In the progress of the Spanish war, a supreme *junta* was constituted; and such preparations were made, as seemed to indicate a determined spirit of resistance. But the French, being greatly reinforced, were victorious in a series of engagements. Madrid, from which Joseph had fled in a panic, was re-taken; and Napoleon issued orders from that city, and made a variety of regulations, as if he had been master of Spain. Expecting a personal attack from that potentate, sir John Moore retreated into Galicia, losing many of his

men in a hasty march amidst the rigours of winter. Being encountered by Soult at Corunna, the English A. D. 1809. repelled the foe; and, while they lamented the loss of their commander, re-embarked for Britain with little molestation.

Incidental misfortunes did not discourage the British ministry. It was resolved in the cabinet, that the war in Spain should be prosecuted with vigour. Concluding that the French would be obliged to employ a great force in this war, the emperor Francis was again inclined to risqué the event of hostilities, in the hope of fully recovering his independence, and regaining the territories which he had lost in the preceding contest. It does not appear that he was instigated by our court to this renewal of war: but, as soon as his purpose was known, a subsidy was offered for the invigoration of his efforts, and readily accepted. After some actions of inferior moment, victory was resolutely disputed at Aspern and Essling; and, as it was peremptorily claimed both by the French and the Austrians, it may be presumed that it did not devolve to either party. But, at Wagram, the conflict was so decisively adverse to the hopes of the emperor, that he was willing to procure peace by new sacrifices. Under the pretence of occasioning such a diversion as might be favourable to the Austrians, but principally for the destruction of a French fleet in the Schelde, a great armament was sent out; and the isle of Walcheren was reduced, as a preparatory measure. After a long delay, it was judged hazardous to proceed up the river to the vicinity of Antwerp; and, when the climate of the island had considerably diminished the number of the invaders, it was abandoned as an useless conquest.

On the coasts of France and Spain, many ships of the line were, in the same year, destroyed by the valour of British seamen, who were headed in one instance by lord Cochrane, and in the other by lord Collingwood. In the West-Indies, Martinique was subjected to the sway of our sovereign; and to the Spaniards such aid was afforded as enabled them to dispossess the French of the town of St. Domingo;—a service which was rewarded with the grant of commercial favours.

The second campaign in the peninsula was distinguished by the exploits of sir Arthur Wellesley, who, when the French had again invaded Portugal, pursued marshal Soult over the

Douro, and drove him into Spain, and afterwards obtained a victory at Talavera over the usurper of the Spanish throne. But this success was not improved by the desultory valour of the natives, who were not subjected to regular discipline or effective command. Yet the duke del Parque was victorious at Tamames; and the garrison of Gerona did not submit before the most active and undaunted courage had been long displayed. At length the campaign terminated to the advantage of the enemy, who, at Ocana and Alba, made great havock among the unfortunate patriots.

A dissension between Mr. Canning and lord Castlereagh, chiefly on the subject of the Walcheren expedition, led to some official changes. The rival ministers having resigned their stations, and the duke of Portland being inclined to retire into private life, the earl of Liverpool (as lord Hawkesbury was then styled) requested, in the king's name, the association of the lords Grenville and Grey; and, on the refusal of those noblemen to act without a preponderating sway, Mr. Perceval was appointed first lord of the treasury, but not before the post was vacated by the duke's death.

It was the opinion of the marquis Wellesley, who had been sent to Spain to stimulate the zeal of the ruling junta, and to promote a reform both of the political and military system, that neither of the allied governments acted with that zeal and vigour which would ensure ultimate success. His remonstrances had some effect in both countries; but, even after he had been declared secretary of state, he could not obtain the assent of his colleagues to that enlarged scale of expenditure which he recommended.

The eyes of Europe were still directed to the Spanish war, which continued to exhibit a variety of features. The French particularly wished to gain possession of Andalusia; A. D. 1810. but, though they easily captured Seville and other towns, they could not make themselves masters of Cadiz, in which city the junta found a safe retreat. Granada was subdued by the enemy; and considerable progress was made in the reduction of other provinces. Yet, even in those which were apparently conquered, parties of resolute men, headed by enterprising officers, took every opportunity of harassing the hated intruders. They intercepted supplies, and cut off small detachments; and, when pursued by superior numbers, generally found the means of escape.

Amidst these hostilities, the *cortes*, or national council, assembled in the isle of Leon, after such modes of election as the junta had prescribed. Various reforms, political and civil, were voted; and arrangements were made for the establishment of general freedom: but they were not honoured with due accomplishment.

New attempts were made by the French, in this campaign, for the reduction of Portugal. Field-marshal Beresford had the chief command of the native troops; and, by continued attention, he brought them to a high state of discipline. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who was now ennobled by the title of Wellington, studiously watched the movements of the enemy, who, after the reduction of Ciudad-Rodrigo in Spain, entered Portugal, and invested Almeida, the fall of which was hastened by the accidental explosion of a quantity of ammunition. The superiority of the French force rendered it expedient for lord Wellington to retreat; but, having fixed upon a defensible station at Busaco, he repelled every assault with such vigour and execution, that the French suffered a far greater loss than they inflicted. He then formed lines for his security, with admirable skill and efficiency; while marshal Massena, unwilling to attack him in such a position, anxiously watched him at a respectful distance.

In Italy, the campaign was not very active. Murat, who had acquired the sovereignty of Naples when Napoleon transferred his brother to the Spanish throne, was desirous of reducing Sicily under his yoke; and his troops found an opportunity of landing on the island: but the native soldiers, and their British defenders, were fully prepared to meet the invaders, who were quickly thrown into such confusion, that only a part of their number had the good fortune to escape to the continent.

Success, in point of colonial acquisition, continued to attend the British arms. Not only Guadaloupe was subdued; but the isles of Bourbon and of France were compelled to submit to the masters of the sea. Amboyna made a faint resistance; and the garrison of Banda yielded to a requisition of surrender.

The king, who had long been resolutely bent on a continued opposition to the dangerous predominance of France, now ceased to rejoice in the occasional triumph of his arms. Lamenting the illness of Amelia, his youngest daughter, who, sensible of her approaching dissolution, presented to

him a ring, and requested him to wear it in remembrance of her affection, he could not resist the impulse of sympathy. As his mind, in all probability, was at that time weakened by the advance of age and the toils of state, the effect of the melancholy interview was that depression of spirits which led to a subversion of intellect. The ministers, thinking that this misfortune was only temporary, suffered almost a month to elapse before they proposed, that the two houses should take measures for the prevention of anarchy or disorder. In the mean time, as is usual in regular monarchies, the machine of government continued its course without the least disturbance. A bill of regency was at length completed; and the prince of Wales, acquiescing

A. D. 1811. in some restrictions with regard to the grant of the peerage and other points, which were limited to one year, began to exercise the functions of government.

However disposed he might be to a change of administration, the prince regent resolved, during the period of restriction, to employ those statesmen whose conduct had met with the approbation of his royal father; and, on the subject of a continuance of the war, he did not feel the least hesitation.

Lord Wellington preserved Portugal by defensive firmness. Massena, to prevent the addition of famine to the diseases which had thinned his army, left a position in which he had long remained inactive, and retired into Spain, suffering his troops, from a spirit of revenge, to perpetrate in their progress every kind of outrage and enormity.

The march of Soult with a considerable army from Seville, to attack the defenders of Spain, led to the battle of Albuera. Both parties fought with the most impetuous courage; and each seemed unwilling to retreat without urgent necessity. At length the allies prevailed at every point; but the advantage which they gained was not very important; and lord Wellington, after a severe loss, was obliged to relinquish the siege of Badajoz, one of the keys of Spain. Cadiz had been subjected to a long blockade; and, when the strictness of the investment was relaxed, the Spaniards made a bold attempt to put an end to that disgrace which hung over the seat of government. Their efforts were unsuccessful; and, though general Graham, who had agreed to act in concert with the native commander on this occasion, triumphed at Barrosa over a great superiority of number, the result was of little moment. After some months of in-

action, produced by a sense of comparative weakness, lord Wellington blockaded Ciudad-Rodrigo; but he soon suffered the enemy to relieve that strong town, and reverted to a state of mere observation.

All the vigour of the French had not yet secured to them the complete possession of the province of Catalonia, though they were masters of its capital at the beginning of the war. They now attempted to seize the towns and fortresses which had hitherto eluded their grasp. On the acquisition of Tarragona they were more particularly intent; and when, after various assaults, they had forced their way into the place, they deliberately put to death a great number of the inhabitants, who could not escape to the British ships. In Valencia, Suchet repeatedly defeated general Blake, and captured the chief town, as well as the strong castle of Morvedro.

This campaign, upon the whole, was more favourable to the French, as far as Spain was concerned, than to the patriotic natives: but the latter did not despair of final success; nor were their British friends disposed to abandon the contest, as they were of opinion that the deliverance of Europe greatly depended on the issue of the war in the peninsula.

The new king of Sweden was desired to send troops to the assistance of the French in Spain. He had declared war against Great-Britain, to gratify the inveterate enemy of our country: but marshal Bernadotte, who, after signalling his courage and talents in the service of France, had been chosen heir to the Swedish crown, made only a shew of hostility, and declined a compliance with the insolent demand of auxiliaries for the Spanish war.

By the influence of Napoleon, the Russians had been placed for some years in a warlike attitude against Great-Britain: but there was little animosity on either side, and the war consequently languished. The Danes, however, were decidedly hostile, because they had reason to complain of the conduct of our court: yet they had not the means of inflicting great injury. It was more within the power of the Dutch to inflict mischief: but they did not act with vigour, and they would gladly have concluded peace with this country. They were at this time deprived, by British valour, of their important colonial possessions in the island of Java.

When the prince regent had been for one year in the possession of power, it was supposed that he would discard the ministers who had unnecessarily restricted A. D. 1812. his authority; but, when the lords Grey and Grenville had refused to join Mr. Perceval and the earl of Liverpool, he retained the same statesmen in the cabinet. They advised him to prosecute the war with vigour; and the influence of the court easily procured ample supplies from the parliament.

The decline of trade and manufactures, consequent on the anti-neutral decrees of Bonaparte, had occasioned great discontent in Great-Britain; and loud complaints were made of the orders and regulations to which the privy-council had resorted. An inquiry was therefore ordered in both houses; and it was supposed that Mr. Perceval would have yielded in this instance to the wishes of his parliamentary opponents: but, in the midst of the investigation, he was assassinated, in the lobby of the house of commons, by a discontented trader, named Bellingham, who had in vain applied for redress, on pretence of insults and losses sustained in Russia. The commons voted a large sum for the support of the widow and children of the lamented minister; and, after a fruitless negotiation between the leaders of the cabinet and the champions of opposition, the earl of Liverpool became the principal director of the national affairs. He agreed to a revocation of the obnoxious orders, and endeavoured to promote an accommodation of all disputes with the United States of America. The search of ships for deserters, and the obstruction given to the trade with the French, of whose commodities the Americans were the chief carriers, had so highly offended that government and nation, that a speedy war was expected: but it was delayed by the conciliatory measures of the British court.

When the Spaniards found that all their exertions had not enabled them to exterminate or expel the invaders of their country, they peremptorily demanded a reform of the government. The administrators were therefore displaced by a vote of the cortes; and the duke del Infantado was appointed president of a new council of regency. A constitutional code was completed; and various abuses and grievances were rectified and redressed. But, amidst the agitations and distractions of the country, no regular plan of effectual reform could be adopted.

Lord Wellington commenced the fifth campaign with the siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo, which was attended with severe loss. He enforced the surrender, however, sooner than was generally expected, and prepared for more important enterprises. Badajoz was so bravely defended, that the loss sustained in the siege exceeded one thousand men, while the wounded nearly amounted to four times that number. Salamanca was afterwards reduced; and, near that academical city, the confederates signalled, by a considerable victory, the glorious cause in which they were engaged. On this occasion, above fifteen thousand men were killed, wounded, or captured. This success was followed by the recovery of Madrid and Seville, and by other exploits: but an abortive attempt for the reduction of the castle of Burgos, and the consequent necessity of a retreat, damped the rising joy of the army.

Bonaparte's eager desire of subduing Spain did not prevent him from embarking in a still more dangerous war. He found that Alexander began to be ashamed of that meanness of submission, which had for some time disgraced him, and that no farther dependence could be reposed on that prince's subserviency. The uneasiness which he felt at this discovery was at length absorbed in indignation; and he resolved to convert into an open enemy the potentate who would no longer promote his ambitious schemes. With the great army which he could bring into the field, collected from various parts of the continent, he did not dream of ill success, or suppose, for a moment, that an invasion of Russia would terminate in disappointment or disaster.

While he was preparing for the execution of this unjust and impolitic enterprise, he amused the British court with a renewal of negotiatory offers; but the basis, proposed by him for a treaty, did not argue that candour or sincerity which alone could tempt the prince regent to accept the overture.

As it is not necessary, in a compendium of British history, to enter into a detail of the war which at this time arose to diversify the scene of hostility, it will be sufficient to observe, that the early operations of the French and their associates were successful; that they over-ran Lithuania, took Smolensk by assault, and, after a very sanguinary conflict at Borodino, penetrated to Moscow; and that, to prevent the invaders from taking up their winter-quarters in

that city, the soldiery and the inhabitants set fire to it, and thus gave an appalling check to the progress of the enemy, who, straitened for supplies, and apprehensive of being surrounded, began to retreat from the scene of horror. The mind can scarcely picture to itself a more disastrous retreat. Intense cold, fatigue, famine, and the sword, occasioned the fall of many myriads of wretched victims; but the unfeeling barbarian, who led them to their destruction, escaped in safety, and re-appeared in France with as much coolness, self-possession, and complacency, as if he had performed all the duties of a man, or had acted like a beneficent angel.

The prince regent zealously encouraged the Russian emperor in his present course, and formed a new league against the disturber of Europe. Frederic William, who had been so far enslaved by Napoleon as to be obliged to send an army against a friendly prince, now resolved to shake off the yoke, and to turn upon his oppressor. The emperor of Austria, who had also acted against the Russians in this campaign, was not immediately disposed to attack a powerful prince, to whom he had condescended to give his daughter in marriage: but the allies had reason to conclude, that he would soon become an efficient member of the confederacy. Even Bernadotte, the crown-prince of Sweden, concurred in the new alliance, in the name of Charles XIII., and promised to take the field in person against his former patron and sovereign, whose pestilent ambition he condemned in the most pointed terms: yet, if fortune had not offered him the splendour of an exalted station, he would probably have been as ready to second all the enterprises of Napoleon, as the most devoted marshal of the imperial staff.

While the war raged in the north of Europe, the long-depending disputes between Great-Britain and the United States of America involved the two nations in hostilities, which were prosecuted with great acrimony, if not with extraordinary vigour. The savages were enlisted in the British cause; and, if they sometimes acted like civilised warriors, they at other times gave a loose to their habitual barbarity. It could not be supposed that the irritated republicans would refrain from loud complaints of the base malevolence of those who could stoop to the encouragement of such brutal associates; but all censures and animadversions of this kind were treated with derision or contempt.

A great object, on the part of the Trans-Atlantic enemy, was the acquisition of Canada: but the attempts upon that province were so feeble, that the government could not reasonably expect, from such efforts, any important success. General Hull advanced with seeming confidence; but, when he had received intelligence of the approach of the savages, he commenced a retreat; and, being overtaken by a small British force, he tamely suffered himself and his followers to be captured, instead of endeavouring to overwhelm his adversaries. On another occasion, a body of American invaders likewise yielded, after a very short resistance, to the disgrace of captivity. The president of the congress, and those members who had concurred with him in precipitating a war, consoled themselves for these disasters by some instances of maritime triumph.

The British ministers did not attend with zeal to the American war. Their thoughts were almost wholly occupied with the affairs of Europe; and the flattering prospect encouraged them to offer the treasures of the nation, with prompt liberality, to the princes who had en- A. D. 1813.
tered into a new confederacy.

Notwithstanding the wasteful havoc of the late expedition, Napoleon was enabled, by the terrific influence of despotism, to open another campaign with an army which far exceeded the united amount of the disposable force of Alexander and Frederic. Yet the allied princes disdained the idea of a retreat, and resolved, without delay, to face their enterprising enemy. On the plain of Lutzen, in Saxony, the fortune of war was again tried. Both armies contended with zeal and alacrity; and nearly as many fell on one side as on the other. The result was indecisive; and, at Bautzen, a still more murderous conflict ensued, in which neither party could justly claim the victory. An armistice was then concluded; and, during that interval, the assistance of the Austrian emperor was obtained by the force of re-iterated persuasion. He dreaded the effect of that dangerous preponderance which the French would acquire by an eventual triumph over their present opponents, and did not expect that even his son-in-law would refrain from treating him with the arrogance of insult and encroachment. He therefore sent a large army into the field, under the command of the prince of Schwartzemberg, an officer of courage and talent, in whom he reposed full confidence.

Here let us pause, and take a survey of the remarkable crisis. An usurper, whose ambition was inordinate, and whom the attainment of one object only impelled to another, was pressing forward to the extension of his influence over all the princes and states of the continent, entertaining at the same time the hope of an ultimate triumph over an insular nation, which had dared to rouse other powers against him. On the other side appeared (without including Great-Britain as a military auxiliary) four powers, enlisted and armed in the cause of national independence, which other states seemed ready to resign. It might have been supposed, that those four warlike states would be able to crush the tyrant, or at least to confine him within the limits of moderation; but he had acquired such a high degree of military fame, and such a commanding influence, that he could organise a most formidable array of his own people, who seemed eager to follow him to the extremity of Europe, and could also collect with ease a great mass of dependent force, even while he was employing a very considerable army in the subjugation of Spain. Thus the contest was still rendered doubtful; and it might reasonably be conjectured, that, if he should obtain some important victories in this campaign, the confederacy would be dissolved, and another opportunity of concentrating such a force against him might not in the course of many years occur. But, if the allies should prevail in one or more general engagements, there was a chance of turning the tide so violently against him, that he might not be able to recover from the shock.

The British court watched the contest with uncommon anxiety. Notwithstanding the alleged necessity of opposing the enemy with vigour in Spain, a considerable detachment, it was thought, might still have been spared for the exigencies of the war in Germany: but the ministers probably concluded, that the employment of a powerful army in Spain would be equally advantageous to the common cause. Reinforcements were therefore sent to lord Wellington, who, having compelled the French to abandon the defence of the Douro, moved forward with alacrity, while they hastened in dismay toward the Ebro. He brought them to action near Vittoria, where they had taken a strong position: but no situation could secure them from defeat. King Joseph, and his military instructor Jourdan, laboured in vain to maintain their ground, and could not prevent the

disorderly retreat of their army. Among the vanquished, the slaughter was not so great as might have been expected: but the discomfiture seemed to be complete. Sir John Murray, who commanded another army of the allies, did not act with the spirit of Wellington; and, though he repelled the enemy in one instance, he was reduced, on another occasion, to the supposed necessity of retreating, after he had formed the siege of Tarragona.

Lord Wellington was tempted by his late success to prepare for an invasion of France. That his progress might not be obstructed by the strength of St. Sebastian or of Pampluna, he resolved to use every exertion for the reduction of one fortress, while the other was subjected to a blockade. Upon the posts which were connected with the latter object, the French made fierce but fruitless assaults; and the vigor of the besiegers at length subdued all resistance in the former town and castle. The dividing rivulet was soon after crossed; and the allies found themselves on that territory into which, since the elevation of Bonaparte, no enemy had dared to intrude. Thus (says an historian) the disgrace which the French, after all their threats of invasion, had been unable to inflict, was hurled upon them; and the establishment of a rival warrior and a hostile army within that frontier which they supposed to be sacred, proved a rankling thorn in the side of their ruler.

The confederate army in Germany, notwithstanding the great amount to which it was elevated by the accession of Austria to the league, acted for some time with remarkable caution; but, when battles had been risked at Gros-Beren and near the Katzbach, in which success attended the enemies of France, a fierce attack was made upon Dresden, which Napoleon occupied with a mighty force. The assault proved unsuccessful; and the prince of Schwartzberg found great difficulty in repelling the vigorous efforts by which the French endeavoured to chastise the boldness of the assailants. On this occasion, general Moreau, who had been tempted by his ardent hopes of success to join the allies against the oppressor of his country, fell a victim to his military zeal, being suddenly dismembered by a cannon-ball.

After an orderly retreat from the walls of Dresden, the prince of Schwartzberg derived, from the rashness of Vandamme, an opportunity of being victorious at Culm; and the prince of Sweden triumphed at Juterbock; but much more important success was destined to follow. Napoleon

having chosen a new station in the town and neighbourhood of Leipsic, the allies attacked his different divisions and posts, and prevailed at every point. They hoped to gain possession of his person, as he remained in the city with the elector or king of Saxony, nearly surrounded by his adversaries. He escaped, however, to the westward; and, when he was endangered at Hanau, where the Bavarians (who had long been his friends) appeared in arms against him, he still had the good fortune to effect his retreat with the wreck of his numerous army.

Before he was thus dislodged from Leipsic, the Saxon troops had renounced their subserviency, by refusing to act against his enemies; and, as soon as the prince of Sweden directed his course to the northward, our sovereign so far profited by the consternation which had seized the French, as to regain his electoral dominions. Great was the exultation of the Hanoverians when their oppressors were obliged to retire; and equal joy was diffused through Holland, when a detachment of the allied army advanced to the frontier. That country, after being for some years a kingdom under the nominal sway of Louis Bonaparte, had been still farther degraded, in the year 1810, by being annexed to the French empire, as a provincial dependency. But, on the approach of a friendly *corps*, and in the expectation of speedy aid and effectual support from Great-Britain, the inhabitants of the Hague invited the prince of Orange to assume the chief authority; and, when the citizens of Amsterdam had followed the spirited example, the prince re-appeared in his native country, with an English ambassador in his train. The title of *stadt-holder*, which his father had borne when he fled to England from the fury of the French revolutionists, now gave way to the superior style and dignity of "sovereign prince of the United Netherlands."

Not content with the rescue of these and other states from the French yoke, the confederates resolved, if possible, to disable the tyrant from the farther exercise of wanton and remorseless ambition. A formidable army hastened to the Rhine, in defiance of the rigors of the season, unwilling to afford time to the discomfited fugitive for the renovation of his strength. If the victorious troops had rested during the winter, they would have incurred the risque of losing the fruits and forfeiting the advantages of their late remarkable success.

The American war continued to employ a part of the

British army and navy: for the prince regent had sent out too small a force for the effectual humiliation of the enemy. He still trusted to the terror which the hostilities of the savage tribes diffused among the troops of the United States; and one of his officers, after a successful attack upon some posts which the republicans had seized on the borders of Canada, suffered the barbarians to massacre several hundreds of his retiring opponents. The same commander was afterwards in danger of being overwhelmed; but he was saved from ruin by the exertions of his savage friends. The tomahawk was then used with a dexterity which he could not but admire. This conflict occurred near Lake Erie, which was also the scene of a naval contest. Having prevailed so far on this occasion as to capture a British flotilla, the Americans recovered a considerable extent of territory which they had lost in the preceding year, and again rushed into Canada, intimidating major-general Proctor into a hasty retreat, which he did not accomplish without the loss of more than a moiety of his force. An invasion of the lower parts of the province proved less successful; and the consequent loss operated for some time as a great discouragement.

Among the desultory naval actions of the year, only one claims our notice. Captain Broke of the Shannon frigate, having attacked an American vessel, which was nearly equal to a ship of the line, brought it to close action, boarded it, and compelled it to surrender. He was wounded in the conflict, as he exposed his person with the most undaunted courage; but he did not regard his own sufferings, as he had confounded the pompous boasts of the Americans, who, after their success over three frigates, pretended that no ship of that description would dare to encounter them.

Animated by the late exploits in Spain and Germany, the prince regent and his ministers resolved to feed the war with fresh supplies, that the tide of success might not be allowed to turn. Fresh troops were levied, and additional millions were granted to the princes who had so strenuously exerted themselves. The anti-ministerial members of the two houses did not counteract these vigorous measures, but acquiesced in the expediency of following the current of fortune. Yet, even while the new preparations were in progress, a desire of peace was evinced by the ministers, in compliance with the general wish, which was only opposed by those selfish and unfeeling men, who, in their offices and employments, and their particular branches of art and traffic, derived benefit

from the continuance of the war. Lord Castlereagh, whose activity, aptitude for business, and plausible eloquence, had procured his re-admission into the cabinet, undertook the task of promoting the British interest, in that negotiation which was expected to ensue from the mutual assent of the contending princes.

In the mean time, the contest approached to a decision, as far as the collision of arms could bring it to a close. The confederate troops crossed the Rhine, and menaced A.D. 1814. the French with an invasion even more formidable than that which had appalled Louis XIV., and had driven that vain-glorious prince to the verge of despair. The cool intrepidity and determined perseverance of Blücher tended to convince them of the danger to which they were exposed; and the courage and skill of the prince of Schwartzemberg promised to be advantageously displayed even against the boasted talents of the great Napoleon.

It was a point of policy to pretend that the allies, however fair and moderate might be their public declarations, had no other view, in their invasion of France, than the dismemberment and partition of the country, in imitation of the conquerors and oppressors of Poland; and such reports had a considerable effect in animating the French to a spirited resistance. Even the conscripts, in general, though driven into the field by menace and terror, thought themselves bound in honour to support their emperor, and to assist him with zeal in the defence of their invaded country. Napoleon thus obtained the command of a faithful and resolute army; but, as it was prevented by the late losses, and by various circumstances, from being so numerous as the crisis required, he seems to have been fully sensible of the danger to which he was exposed, however he might attempt to conceal his apprehensions under the form of the most assured confidence. After some less important conflicts, he contended with Blücher at Brienne, and compelled him to retreat with loss: but, at La-Rothière, he was attacked by the Austrian general, and constrained to retire in his turn.

Instead of following the plan of the duke of Marlborough, who wasted several campaigns in the mere attack of fortresses, the allied commanders boldly pressed forward to the French capital, regardless of the strength of the frontier towns. The capture of the great seat of power, they thought, would put an end to the war, by enabling them to dictate the terms of peace; and they trusted for success to the magni-

tude of their force, and to the reviving zeal of the long-depressed adherents of the house of Bourbon.

Negotiations, however, were not neglected. The earl of Aberdeen and lord Cathcart, under the direction of lord Castlereagh, treated at Chatillon with Caulincourt, though this minister had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the allied powers by his concern in the murder of the duke d'Enghien, who, when he was taken in a neutral country, had been condemned to death by a court-martial. Plenipotentiaries were also employed by the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian courts; and they insisted, in such a peremptory tone, on the abandonment of the French conquests and usurpations, that Bonaparte seemed willing to comply with the requisition: but, when Lisle and other strong towns were demanded as temporary securities for his observance of the stipulated terms, a demur arose on his part, and the conferences were discontinued. Not only the friends of war, but also the advocates of peace, rejoiced at this disagreement, because even the latter were convinced of the insecurity of any pacification with Napoleon, upon whose honour no one could rely, if he thought that his interest could be promoted by perfidy.

Few British troops accompanied the armies of the combined powers in their march to Paris: but a considerable force served under sir Thomas Graham, in the Netherlands. That commander, flattering himself with the hope of reducing Bergen-op-Zoom, employed major-general Cooke in that task. He knew that it was attended with danger; but he had little doubt of the success of his gallant troops. One column penetrated into the place by passing the harbour; but, in its progress along the ramparts, it was exposed to such a galling fire, that many of the assailants fell, and a great number were made prisoners. The other columns also suffered so severely, that Cooke, to avoid the ruin of the detachment, consented to the captivity of the survivors.

The progress of the invaders of France continued to excite, in an extraordinary degree, the attention of Europe. The eagerness of hope, and the anxiety of fear, alternately prevailed in the minds of all political observers. At one time, the horizon was apparently illuminated: at another, it was clouded and darkened.

When the forward movements of Blücher had diffused an alarm among the French, Bonaparte attacked and repelled some of the advancing divisions; and, in one conflict, the

Prussian general was reduced to the greatest danger, his infantry being almost surrounded by cavalry: but the major part of his force escaped by an union of skill and courage. The advantages obtained by the French on these occasions, and also over some detachments of Schwartzberg's army, seemed to give a serious check to the two commanders: but their retrograde steps were merely the effects of temporary policy, and served to amuse the hostile leader with hopes which in a great measure disarmed his caution. The recapture of some important towns elevated his spirits; and he drove Blücher before him to Laon: but, by a rash assault upon that town, he lost a multitude of men, and encouraged rather than checked his enemies.

Being placed between powerful armies, Napoleon found his attention so divided and distracted, that he could not make a vigorous impression upon either host. He stationed himself near the Aube, to prevent the renewed advance of Schwartzberg; and, when he had been dislodged from Arcis, he moved to so great a distance from Paris, as to afford to his adversaries an opportunity of reaching that city. As far as they could judge while the event was still uncertain, a more fortunate conjuncture could not have occurred.

At this critical time, lord Wellington was not idle or negligent. As soon as the decline of the inundations allowed him to take the field, he attacked various posts with success; and, proceeding to Orthes, where marshal Soult had taken an advantageous station, he endeavoured to turn both flanks of the enemy. The different assaults were so far successful, that the French, who at first retired in good order, soon after fled with great rapidity. Valuable magazines were seized; and, if no strong towns were reduced, hopes were at least entertained of the speedy improvement of this success, particularly after the general had received an address from the most respectable inhabitants of Bourdeaux, stating their desire of promoting the restoration of the royal family, and soliciting speedy assistance and support. Troops were immediately sent for the defence of the royalists against the armed adherents of Napoleon; and British officers, without arbitrary interference, acted for a time as masters of the city. To the memory of those who were conversant in history, this incident recalled the time when an English prince kept his court at Bourdeaux, where Richard II. was born.

The passage of the Adour, which the inhabitants of the vicinity deemed impracticable, was effected by the skill and

judgement of general Hope and admiral Penrose; and, though this success did not intimidate the garrison of Bayonne into a surrender, it gave the invaders the command of a considerable portion of territory. The royalists now shook off the terror which had long depressed them, and began, in all parts of the country, to interchange their thoughts, and communicate their hopes and views.

A remarkable occurrence, which was not generally expected, put an end to the war in Spain, while the French were still in possession of a considerable part of the kingdom. Bonaparte, humbled by his ill-success in the last campaign, had degraded Joseph from his sovereignty, and condescended to permit the return of Ferdinand into the peninsula. He engaged to deliver up all the places occupied by the French in Spain, on condition of the speedy evacuation of every part of the country by the agents and troops of Great-Britain. He acknowledged the right of Ferdinand and his heirs to the throne, insisting, at the same time, on the regular payment of a liberal annuity to Charles IV. The *cortes* wished to exact, from the restored king, an oath for the observance of the new constitution; but he had no inclination to comply with such a demand. He even dissolved the assembly, and annulled the code. Being influenced by the advice of the enemies of freedom, he persecuted the very men who had strenuously supported his claim against all the efforts of the usurper; and, regardless of the public voice, he ruled with despotical sway.

In France, the grand object of the confederacy was eagerly pursued. It was suspected by many English politicians, that the emperor of Austria was not zealous in the cause, and that, if any attempt should be made to dethrone Bonaparte, he would rather secede from the coalition, than deprive his daughter of the dignity of empress of France, or his infant grandson of the eventual succession: but, by entertaining these apprehensions, they calumniated or misconceived the character of a respectable potentate. He, on the contrary, gave such instructions to the prince of Schwartzberg, as tended to a much more satisfactory decision of the contest than would have resulted from the completion of the late negotiations.

It was now resolved, in a council of war, that the two armies should advance, at such a limited distance from each other, as would allow a convenience of communication. Bonaparte had marched too far to be able to return with

sufficient celerity to that theatre of action in which his presence would have been most useful to his cause; and he was so inconsiderate and infatuated, that, while he thought he was precluding the retreat of his adversaries, he was pursuing a course which facilitated their success.

While a large body of cavalry watched his desultory movements, that march, upon which such a weight of interest depended, was prosecuted with as much coolness and regularity, as if the armies had been passing through a tranquil and friendly country. Two generals, Mortier and Marmont, remained for the defence of the metropolis; but they were not the most able officers of the school of Napoleon, nor were they so devotedly attached to him as Bertrand and some other marshals were. But, if they had been the greatest warriors of the age, they had too small a force to oppose the invaders with effect. They were therefore easily repelled; and the allies reached the vicinity of Paris.

It could not be supposed that the city would be surrendered without a blow. New works had been raised for its defence; and a long range of artillery threatened to destroy a multitude of the assailants. But even a greater display of force would not have intimidated the intrepid champions of the independence of Europe. They stormed the posts with alacrity; and their rapid success diffused such consternation among the Parisians, that a capitulation was proposed, to prevent the ruin of the city. On the 31st of March, a convention was adjusted, by which the regular troops were allowed to retire, while the municipal guard remained; and no injury was to be offered to the citizens.

Such was the fall, and such the disgrace, of the most corrupt city in the modern world. So signal a triumph filled Europe with joy; and no nation exulted more cordially on the memorable occasion than the British community, whose treasures and influence, and whose gallant example, paved the way to this very important and splendid success.

The emperor Alexander and his allies were now the dictators of the fate of France. They did not, however, venture to interfere openly in the settlement of the public affairs, or to recommend a particular prince or family to general approbation: but it was well known that they wished for the re-establishment of the house of Bourbon, in the person of that prince who had long resided in England as a private gentleman; and it was still more certainly known, that they would not permit the continuance of Bonaparte in the

sovereignty, or suffer any one to act in his name. Talleyrand, styled the prince of Benevento, was appointed by the conservative senate to administer the national affairs, with four other members of that body; and these temporary rulers immediately declared, that Napoleon had forfeited all right to the royal or imperial dignity in France. The next step was the formation of a new constitutional code, favourable to the cause of freedom; and Louis Xavier, the exiled brother of the murdered king, was invited to fill the vacant throne.

If Bonaparte, when he found, on his return from his wild excursion, that the allies were in possession of Paris, had been assured of the continued readiness of his troops to execute all his orders with implicit obedience, he would probably, in the emotions of rage and despair, have led his *brigands* to the city, and have rewarded them with all the spoils which they could collect, with a view of punishing the inhabitants for what he termed their pusillanimous and disgraceful submission to the enemy. But all the force which he could then assemble was not adequate to such an attempt; and therefore, after giving vent to his rage in complaints and execrations, he was induced to believe that submission was the best remedy for those misfortunes which he had brought upon himself. He therefore announced to the public his abdication of the throne, and was treated by his conquerors with unexpected lenity and moderation, being escorted to Elba, and allowed to enjoy the sovereignty of that island, with a princely income. This choice of an asylum was suggested by a friend of Bonaparte, and, though it was disapproved by lord Castlereagh, was supported by the Russian emperor: but a residence in the wilds of Siberia, subject to a strict *surveillance*, would have been a more suitable and prudent choice.

The new king, after expressing in the strongest terms his gratitude to the prince regent, embarked for Calais, and took quiet possession of the throne. He made some alterations, by his own authority, in the constitution which had been prepared by the committee of senators; but his arrangements were not subversive of public freedom. He allowed the existence of a chamber of peers and a body of popular representatives, without permitting either assembly to propose a law in the first instance. He did not wish to be arbitrary; yet he found it necessary to restrain the licentiousness of a depraved population.

Even after the surrender of Paris, hostilities were in various parts continued. The garrisons of some fortresses refused to submit to Louis; and Soult, either not informed of the recent occurrences, or (as some affirm) concealing the intelligence, suffered lord Wellington to attack him near Toulouse. He repelled the assault which was made upon his front by the Spanish troops; but he could not prevent the heights on his right from being forced by sir William Beresford, who, having rallied the retreating division, also attacked the central position with success. Sir Rowland Hill, at the same time, dislodged the enemy from a fortified suburb; and the invading army established itself on three sides of the city, but not without a very severe loss. Expecting that the place would be stormed, the greater part of the French army retired from it in the night, leaving sixteen hundred prisoners and valuable stores. With this conquest the war ceased in the south of France. The fortresses in other parts were at length surrendered to the authority of Louis; but the strong towns in the Netherlands were reserved for another sovereign, and some of them were garrisoned for a time by British troops.

In the affairs of Italy, the English also interfered. Lord William Bentinck, who had for some years directed the administration of Sicily, endeavoured to obtain possession of the city and territory of Genoa. In his progress through a mountainous country, he met with considerable opposition; and, when he reached the vicinity of the capital, he found the enemy in the occupancy of very strong positions; but, with the co-operation of a squadron, and the aid of Calabrian and Sicilian troops, he surmounted all obstacles, and enforced a complete surrender.

About two months after the reduction of Paris, treaties were concluded by Louis with the allied powers. Whatever might be the reluctance of his people to the restitution of those territories which had been annexed to the empire since the revolution, he was willing to accede to the demands of those princes who had placed him on the throne. He therefore engaged for the general abandonment of the country between the former French frontier and the Rhine, and for the dereliction of all arbitrary influence over Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. Pleased at his ready acquiescence, Great-Britain liberally consented to restore all the French islands and colonial districts which had been taken during the war, except St. Lucia, Tobago, and the Mauritius.

In the earlier part of the year, a treaty had been adjusted between our court and that of Copenhagen, requiring from the latter a conjunction of military and naval force with the allies, in consideration of a subsidy; but the promised aid was unnecessary. When the Russians drew the Swedes into the grand alliance, the kingdom of Norway was offered to them as a lure, without regard to the feelings of the Danes or the Norwegians; and Great-Britain guaranteed the offer: but the encroachment was softened by an intimation, that the province of Pomerania would be given in exchange. The king of Denmark relinquished all claim of authority over the Norwegians, and requested them to submit patiently to the transfer; but their spirit revolted from such disgrace; and, declaring their state independent, they offered their crown to Christian, son of the Danish monarch. He must have been aware of the impracticability of retaining such a sovereignty, in defiance of a formidable confederacy; yet he was willing to make the experiment. The contest was not of long duration. While British ships blockaded the ports of Norway, the king of Sweden and the crown-prince invaded the realm, and, after some unimportant conflicts, they overpowered all resistance.

Peace was now restored to the continent of Europe: but its permanency was, at least, problematical. Among the soldiers and the populace of France, such an attachment to the banished emperor was observable, that it was doubtful whether Louis would long reign in tranquillity. To prevent a public misrepresentation of his government and conduct, the press was restricted by a new law, which, while it gave great offence, did not preclude the effusions of oral calumny, or the secret correspondence of mal-contented and conspirators.

Between Great-Britain and the American republic, the war still continued; and the animosity with which it was prosecuted did not reflect honour upon either party. An attempt had been made by the Russian emperor to conciliate the contending governments; but his mediation was not accepted by the prince regent.

Canada was again the chief scene of action. Major-general Wilkinson, expecting an attack from the British troops, quitted his position near the frontier, and suffered his retreat to bear the aspect of flight: but his force was not seriously impaired. He soon after meditated a new invasion; an attempt which only subjected him to loss and

disgrace. For some months, the hostilities were unimportant; but, when the Americans had considerably augmented their army in the vicinity of Lake-Erie, they reduced the fort of that name, and menaced the post of Chippawa with an assault. An inferior force, which advanced against them, suffered severely in the conflict, and retreated, to avoid ruin. The subsequent advance of a division toward the cataract of Niagara was attended with great danger: but the approach of another corps, under general Drummond, turned the tide against the republicans, though their number greatly exceeded the amount of his brave followers.

The Americans were not secure, even in their capital, against which a bold stroke was aimed by General Ross. Washington itself was not a place of strength: but the citizens hoped that the post of Bladensburg would preserve them from insult. A light brigade, however, forced this station in one part; and, in another, the impetuous attack of the bayonet, and the furious discharge of rockets, quickly threw the enemy into confusion. Consternation was now diffused through the defenceless city. The invaders marched into it with a full determination of doing all possible mischief to the government. They set fire to the *capitol*, (or the building in which the two national assemblies were accustomed to deliberate,) the president's palace, the treasury, and the war-office: the arsenal and its stores were also destroyed: the dock-yard and rope-walks were rendered useless; and other damage was inflicted, but without the destruction or pillage of private houses. It may be supposed that the result of this expedition filled the enemy with indignation. The president loudly and acrimoniously condemned it; and the public prints teemed with invectives against the perpetrators of such outrages.

While the republicans were thus incensed, they derived some consolation from reflecting on the severe loss sustained by the besiegers of Fort-Erie, (who failed in two assaults,) and on the fall of general Ross near Baltimore, the reduction of which was in vain attempted. They also exulted in the defeat of a British flotilla on Lake-Champlain, and in the consequent retreat of general Prevost, who had made great preparations for an attack upon Plattsburg. On the other hand, the ill-success which thus obscured the lustre of Great-Britain was in some measure compensated by the effective operations of an armament which sailed from Halifax to the Penobscot. The vigour displayed on this occa-

sion by the officers of both services enforced the submission of a spacious district, situated to the eastward of that river, to the British government.

In the ensuing winter, a negotiation which had been long depending terminated in a pacific treaty. Captured forts and districts were ordered to be restored by each party; but all controversies on the subject of territorial limits were reserved for subsequent determination; and, to the great surprise of the public, the maritime disputes were left unsettled.

The calm which followed the raging storm was delusive and treacherous. All the endeavours of the French king to secure a permanency of peace were rendered fruitless by the negligence of the confederate princes, who did not watch, with sufficient caution, the proceedings and conduct of their ambitious enemy. The prince of Elba easily found an opportunity of escape. Having equipped a small armament, he appeared on the coast of France with eleven hundred bold adventurers, who, like him. A. D. 1815. self, were only pleased when they could prosecute a course of rapine and murder. So few of the French officers or soldiers were disposed to be faithful to their king, that the perfidious invader, who might at first have been arrested and punished even by the smallest garrison in the south of France, was enabled to procure a great accession of force, to march unmolested to Paris, and to resume a sovereignty of which he was totally unworthy.

The views and designs of Providence are not so obvious as to be discerned in every instance by human sagacity: but we may conclude that Bonaparte was let loose upon the world as a scourge, to punish the prevailing wickedness, or, by the injurious consequences of his mischievous career, to call the attention of mankind to the contrast between a future state and the miseries of the present life, and thus promote a due observance of the interesting concerns and important duties of religion. Attila, the ferocious Hun, was considered in that light by the divines of a distant age; and the resemblance of Napoleon to that barbarian, if we make an allowance for the difference of time, is strong and pointed.

Bonaparte's escape and restoration excited, throughout Europe, a greater degree of horror than of mere surprise. The idea of the re-establishment of such a man in power shocked the feelings of all, except the admirers of false glory and the

disgrace. For some months, the hostilities were unimportant; but, when the Americans had considerably augmented their army in the vicinity of Lake-Erie, they reduced the fort of that name, and menaced the post of Chippawa with an assault. An inferior force, which advanced against them, suffered severely in the conflict, and retreated, to avoid ruin. The subsequent advance of a division toward the cataract of Niagara was attended with great danger: but the approach of another *corps*, under general Drummond, turned the tide against the republicans, though their number greatly exceeded the amount of his brave followers.

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slaves of military despotism. All the congratulations which the different powers had interchanged, on the subject of the deliverance of Europe, were found to be premature; and their hopes, if not absolutely fallacious, were at least deferred and unanswered. But, if the allies were shocked at the re-appearance of the tyrant, they were not confounded. For that conduct which the danger required, little deliberation was necessary. The steps which the insulted powers were to pursue, in an event of this kind, had been marked out in a convention, (signed before the deposition of Napoleon,) by which they were bound to use the most strenuous exertions for the annihilation of his power. When they had issued a declaration against him, branding him as an outlaw, and denouncing exemplary vengeance, he answered it by imputing, to Louis and his supporters, a violation of their engagements with him, by asserting the right of the French to re-place him on their throne, and promising to maintain peace on that basis which had been recently fixed by the treaty of Paris. His manifesto, and the letters addressed by him to the leading powers, were treated with that cool contempt which galled him more than all the asperity of reproach.

Great-Britain was more particularly intent upon warding off the new storm. The oppressive tax upon income had been withdrawn on the return of peace: but, as large supplies were again deemed necessary, that impost was renewed, and great preparations were eagerly expedited.

When Napoleon found that he could not soothe the incensed allies into an acquiescence in his resumption of power, he prepared to meet unavoidable hostilities. If he had been left to himself, he would probably have remained at peace for a short time, as if he had renounced all views of encroachment and aggression; and then, on some unfounded pretence of the evil intentions of other princes or states, he would have rushed into war, without any real diminution of his habitual ferocity. He did not find the people so ready to co-operate in a new war, as he expected; but he had still the means of powerful hostility; and, in the hope of increasing those means by an extension of his influence, he governed in a mild and conciliatory manner, and even prepared such a constitution as held out a prospect of liberty under the sway of two chambers, resembling the lords and commons of Great-Britain.

The war was renewed in Italy before it re-commenced on the French frontier. Murat, being informed of the escape of

Napoleon, was no longer inclined to adhere to that treaty by which he had bound himself, in the preceding year, to support the cause of the confederates. He flattered himself with the hope of the complete re-establishment of his patron; and, being thus amused with the prospect of securing his royalty, without the aid of the emperor of Austria, he inconsiderately turned his arms against this prince. In all probability, even if he had not interfered in the new contest, he would not have been suffered to remain king of Naples, because he had not been faithful to his former engagements: but, by rushing into a war, he precipitated the fate which he deserved. Not only the Austrians were ready to counteract his perfidious aims; but the British and Sicilian troops were equally intent upon his ruin. He opened the campaign with all the eagerness of confidence, and met with success in some early operations; but his troops, consisting chiefly of Neapolitans, were unqualified to contend effectually with the regiments of Austria, and were therefore repeatedly defeated. While he was retreating, his capital, menaced by commodore Campbell, was saved from an attack only by the submission of his wife and his chief partisans to the terms which that officer dictated. All the ships of war in the bay were given up, with the arsenal; and a more general compact of surrender was soon after signed, in consequence of the negotiations of lord Burghersh and the Austrian commander with Carascosa, who was authorised by Murat to agree to a treaty. The usurper took an opportunity of retiring from the city in disguise; and Ferdinand IV. regained possession of the kingdom. Murat afterwards made a descent in Calabria, with a small party of adventurers; but his endeavours to effect his restoration were speedily baffled, and he was punished with death as a traitorous invader.

When the new constitution had been proposed in form to the French people, and gratefully accepted by a numerous assembly of Parisians, and of deputies from the different departments, Napoleon repaired to the frontier, to attack the British and Prussian armies. The Austrians and Russians had not yet reached the Netherlands; and it was his opinion, that, if he could speedily triumph in the field over the two former hosts, the contest would ultimately terminate in his favour. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of the Sambre, he gave orders for an attack upon some Prussian posts; and, having thus facilitated the seizure of Charleroi, he took possession of the town. Elate with this trivial success, he

eagerly advanced against marshal Blucher, over whom, after an obstinate conflict at Ligny and other stations, he so far prevailed as to enforce a retreat. Great loss was sustained by the Prussians on this occasion; and their gallant commander, being dismounted by the fall of his wounded horse, remained prostrate while the French cavalry were scouring the plain in the ardour of pursuit. He escaped death or capture by being unknown; and, being at length rescued from danger, retired to Wavre, in expectation of favourable intelligence from the duke of Wellington.

While the French aimed at the ruin of Blucher's army, a fourth part of their force engaged the British, Belgian, and German troops, stationed, under the duke's command, at Les-Quatre-Bras and some neighbouring posts. Marshal Ney exerted his usual courage; and Kellermann, with a great body of cavalry, repeatedly attacked the infantry, while a numerous range of artillery aided the operations of the column which joined in the assault. But the allies sustained every charge with intrepidity and firmness, and repelled the enemy at all points. In this engagement, the duke of Brunswick, brother to the princess whom the regent of Great-Britain had married, lost his life at the head of a strong body of his subjects, whom he had clothed in a black uniform, which, he declared, they should continue to wear, till full vengeance should be taken upon the tyrant, by whom his dying father, after the battle of Auerstadt, had been treated with brutal insolence.

Expecting an attack from the whole force of the enemy, the duke of Wellington now took such a position as enabled him to secure a communication with the Prussian general. His embattled ranks were composed of sixty-five thousand men; while the amount of the French army was considerably greater, probably between eighty and ninety thousand. His position was in the front of Waterloo, to the southward of Brussels: his right was thrown back to a ravine near Braine; the centre occupied Mont St. Jean; and the left reached a height above Ter-la-Haye. The French, leaving their cuirassiers in reserve, and the guards upon some heights, for the protection of their imperial master, commenced the battle (on the 18th of June) by attacking the post of Goumont, near the British right. This service was intrusted to Napoleon's brother Jerome; and, when he moved forward, the assault was accompanied with a very heavy cannonade upon the whole adverse line. The advantage, however, which the

French had in the amount of artillery, did not impair the courage or shake the fortitude of the allies, whose firmness of countenance promised a favourable result of the engagement.

The post which was first assaulted would have been completely taken, if it had not, after the loss of its out-works, been defended with the utmost valour by a detachment of the British guards. Leaving this station to its fate, the French cavalry rode briskly to the attack of the right wing; and so furious was the charge, that the duke's light troops recoiled, and the subsidiary squadrons gave way. The Brunswick infantry, however, arranged in squares, made a firm stand; and, being well supported by the artillery, made great havoc among the assailants. In the mean time, an impetuous attack was made upon the post of Mont-St.-Jean, and also upon the left. The first line of the duke's army, having before it a weak fence or hedge called *la Haye Sainte*, coolly sustained the charge; while the second line, posted behind the ridge of the hill, suffered from frequent showers of shells. Rushing through the fence, the British cavalry repelled the foremost battalions; but the approach of the cuirassiers, upon whose heavy armour it seemed difficult to make an impression, and the vigour of the lancers, alarmingly checked the operations and success of the light-horse. It was therefore necessary to bring up a heavy brigade; and the effect of this movement was, not indeed instantaneous, but speedy and terrific. Neither the cuirass, though impervious to the sword, could secure its wearer from the havoc of fire-arms, nor could the lance protect even the most skilful of those who trusted to that murderous weapon. Many fell on this occasion; and about three thousand of the infantry, being at the same time compelled to surrender their arms, were sent to the city of Brussels, which they had confidently hoped to enter as conquerors.

Renewed attacks were made upon the whole line. The right defended itself with courage and vigour, and perseveringly maintained that post which the French were so eager to seize. A central post was forced by the enemy, who pressed forward with undaunted alacrity, and disordered some of the squares into which the British troops were formed.

When the battle had raged for six hours, a division of the Prussian army entered into action. General Bulow had been sent forward by Blucher to keep the French right wing

in play, that it might not be able to co-operate effectually with the centre: but he did not venture upon a close or very serious conflict, before he thought he could depend on the arrival of the field-marshal. Bonaparte had detached Grouchy to watch the movements of Blucher; and, when that officer had encountered Thielman, who conducted a strong rear-guard, he prevailed in the conflict, leaving his master impressed with an opinion, that this detachment would be able to obstruct the dreaded approach of Blucher.

Agitated with a mixture of hope and fear, Napoleon now ordered his guards to advance against the centre, and to collect all the force, of both descriptions, which they could find in their progress. As he quitted his distant post of observation, and approached Mont-St.-Jean, it was concluded that he would personally conduct this attack: but he checked his forwardness, and remained in a more secure station. The assailants, diminished in their number by the well-directed fire of the artillery, attained the ridge, where the duke, with a brigade of the guards, waited to receive them. They were soon thrown into disorder, and gave way at various points. At this time, Blucher's main body had reached the scene of action toward the left, and the decisive moment had arrived. The whole British line rushed forward with the most animated zeal, and with all the confidence of success. Irremediable confusion spread among the opposite ranks: the Prussians broke the right wing; and Bonaparte, confounded and dismayed, avoided the danger of capture by a precipitate retreat. A more disgraceful flight cannot easily be conceived. It resembled the dispersion of an army of Turks or Moors, rather than that of troops famed for order and discipline. The chase was continued by the British troops, till the fatigue, consequent on a battle which had been prolonged to the close of day, induced them to resign all farther pursuit to the Prussians, who were so eager to take vengeance for the former cruelties of the French, and for the acts of wanton outrage which they had recently committed upon their prisoners, that they undertook the task with joy and alacrity, and sacrificed a great number of unresisting fugitives.

In this engagement, much more important in its consequences than that of Marathon, which saved Greece from the Persian yoke, the number of victims may be supposed to have been very great. Exclusive of the loss sustained by the subsidiary troops, it is officially stated, that above seven-

teen hundred and fifty British warriors, among whom were sir Thomas Picton and sir William Ponsonby, lost their lives, and five thousand nine hundred and fifty were wounded, many of whom soon after died. No correct estimate has been given of the number of French who fell in the battle and the pursuit. Some officers have elevated the amount to thirty thousand;—a computation which is not so high as to be incredible.

By this splendid triumph, the duke of Wellington has acquired immortal fame; and no one is so envious or unreasonable as to dispute his claim to the highest rank among modern commanders. The gratitude of his country had previously rewarded him with very liberal grants, which were augmented, on this occasion, even amidst general poverty, without the least symptom of disapprobation.

The effect of the victory soon appeared. If it did not deter the vanquished commander from appearing in the seat of his power, it humbled him at least into apparent modesty. He called a meeting of the ministers, and of other distinguished persons, and requested a free exposition of their sentiments. The majority proposed an immediate negotiation; but this proposal did not satisfy the representatives of the people, who, collecting courage from the tyrant's depression, hinted the expediency of abdication. Aware of the determination of the allies to secure his person, and observing, with regret, that his principal subjects, unwilling to share his fate, demanded his resignation, he reluctantly consented, with a proviso that the imperial dignity should be conferred on his son. A provisional government was now organized, without regard to his family; and deputies were sent to treat with the invaders, who, after the reduction of various fortresses, boldly approached the capital.

Louis, who had resided at Ghent during the suspension of his power, re-entered France under the guidance of the victorious duke, and offered a general amnesty. The two chambers assumed a high tone, and demanded his assent to such a constitution as they might be disposed to frame: but he coolly evaded the requisition. When the Prussians had obtained some advantages over the few troops that dared to oppose them, and were preparing to concur with the duke in the investment of Paris, a convention was adjusted for the surrender of that city, and the retreat of the French army beyond the Loire. The king, soon after, took quiet possession of his capital; and, though the war did not instantly

cease, the appearance of an Austrian army within the frontiers, and the simultaneous movements of the Russians, at length overpowered all resistance.

The two emperors, and the Prussian monarch, joined the king at Paris, and concerted with him various schemes for the security of the continent. While they were thus occupied, Bonaparte, who had been driven from the city by the spirit of the temporary rulers, endeavoured to make his escape from Rochefort to America: but, finding that he was closely watched by British cruisers, he resolved to surrender himself to one of the allied princes. Not being disposed to visit Siberia, he declined submission to Alexander; and the dread of a strict confinement in an Austrian or Prussian fortress, discouraged him from soliciting the protection of Francis or of Frederic. He regarded the English as the most generous and noble-minded of his enemies; and, thinking that the prince regent, in his treatment of an unfortunate adversary, would listen to the public voice, to which the three despots would not attend, he was at length induced to seek an asylum in Great-Britain. Having announced his intention to the commander of a ship of war, he was received on board, and conveyed to the coast of England. He hoped to be allowed to live in comfort and affluence, under no other restrictions than had been imposed upon his brother Lucien, who had long resided in this country: but, after some weeks of anxious suspense, he was shocked by an order from the British court for his transportation to the island of St. Helena. He declared that he would not submit to the imperious command: that he was a guest of England, not a prisoner: but his protest was justly disregarded; and he was sent with some friends to his destined abode, where he still remains, complaining occasionally of that treatment which is far too mild for his enmities. He is allowed to enjoy abundance and even luxury: he has a considerable range of boundary; but, in his excursions, he is watched by one or more sentinels, to prevent that escape which he may be supposed to meditate. That he may never be restored to the enjoyment of power, or to the full freedom of action, is the wish of every friend of humanity. When inferior villains are severely punished, great offenders ought not to escape with impunity.

Before the European war was brought to a close, two Asiatic powers felt the vigour and superiority of the British arms. The king of Kandi, after occasional contests with the possessors of the maritime parts of Ceylon, became so dan-

gerous a neighbour, that it was thought necessary to declare war against him; and lieutenant-general Brownrigg advanced to chastise the barbarian, whose government was so tyrannical and inhuman, that the majority of the insular chieftains and of the people earnestly wished to shake off his detested yoke. His territories being invaded by different divisions, and various forts taken, he had not the courage to defend his capital, but fled from the approaching storm, as did also the generality of the inhabitants. He was discovered in his retreat, and given up by some of his subjects to the British commander; and, in an assembly of the principal Kandians, a transfer of the kingdom to our sovereign was readily voted.

The war in Nepal was more sanguinary, but less decisive in its result. Seizures of territory, and various outrages, were alleged by the governor-general of India as just grounds of hostility; and a spirited campaign ensued, which so far weakened and humbled the enemy, that some disputed posts were surrendered, and the frontiers of the company's territories were additionally strengthened.

Peace was thus restored to British India; and the pacification of Europe quickly followed. The French king could not be expected to make a very strong resistance to the demands of his friends and protectors, who could as easily dethrone as restore him; and, if he suffered the nation to be apparently disgraced, it was the result of Bonaparte's second usurpation, for which he and his base adherents deserved all the severity of censure. The terms of concord were at length adjusted, and, on the 20th of November, 1815, regularly attested and confirmed.

The treaties which resulted from the negotiations of the allied princes with the French court and with each other, were calculated, as far as human prudence could provide, for the security and tranquillity of Europe. That nation, which had inflicted such a wide extent of mischief, was punished with a great loss of territory, subjected to heavy pecuniary demands, and disgraced by the stipulated continuance of foreign troops within its frontiers. The kingdom was restricted to the boundaries which had confined it in the earlier part of the year 1792. Eighteen fortresses were surrendered, for five years, to the occupancy of 150,000 men, belonging to the confederate army; and those troops were to be supported during that time by the French king, who was also required to pay, within the same period, 700 millions of francs (about 29,166,666 pounds), toward the in-

demnification of his auxiliaries. A considerable part of this sum was to be appropriated to the reparation of the Netherland fortresses; and very little, we may suppose, will be received by Great-Britain, as our ministers are so liberal and unsparing in all concerns connected with the national finances. Like Mr. Pitt, they occasionally *spoke* of the necessity of indemnity; but they scarcely *thought* of it in the negotiation.

A signal act of justice, which seemed to excite as strong resentment as even the defalcations of territory, was the seizure of the valuable pictures and statues, and other productions of art and talent, which the French *brigands* had at different times carried off from Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. Blucher and the duke of Wellington insisted upon plenary restitution; and their soldiers were employed in stripping the Louvre of those adventitious decorations which had drawn strangers from all parts of Europe to the French metropolis.

The confederate powers not only settled the affairs of France, but those of Europe in general. In a congress at Vienna, which was attended by lord Castlereagh on the part of Great-Britain, various arrangements were made for an adjustment of the balance of power. The prince regent procured, for his unconscious parent, the title of king of Hanover, and, for himself, the honour of being the protector of the Ionian islands, which were to be garrisoned by British troops. That portion of Poland which had been granted by Napoleon to his vassal, the king of Saxony, was ceded to the emperor of Russia, in addition to the part which he had long possessed; and the king of Prussia not only recovered his Polish territories, but was gratified with very considerable acquisitions in Saxony. While the pope was restored to his temporal power and possessions, the king of Sardinia was allowed to add Genoa to the recovered principality of Piedmont; and the Austrian emperor re-obtained the Milanese and other provinces in the northern division of Italy. To the prince of Orange the Netherlands were transferred; and he thus became a considerable potentate, able to assist with vigour in checking the future aggrandisement of France.

If these powerful regulators of the affairs of Europe should adhere to their declarations, and be observant of the genuine duties of princes, the blessings of peace may long gladden the hearts of their subjects. But, with all this parade of pacific intentions, it is not probable that the miseries of war

will very long be avoided. However horrible in its nature, it is the pastime and amusement of princes; and, as a large standing army is now the appendage of every government, a mere apprehension of the decline of military spirit, for want of actual service, may prompt some of the European courts to seek occasions of offence, and again to "let loose the dogs of war." That the French will endeavour to provoke hostilities, and to draw their king into a contest, after the removal of the foreign troops, there is little reason to doubt; but we earnestly hope that the ostensible purpose of the congress will be kept in due remembrance; that Louis will not, like his royal predecessor, suffer his officers or courtiers to precipitate him into a rash war; and that every attempt of that kind will be instantly baffled by the energy of the allied powers.

CHAP. II.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. A. D. 1688—1815.

THE toleration granted by king William to the dissenters did not please the high-church zealots; but it gratified all who were inspired with sentiments of moderation and humanity. Another act of his reign gave equal disgust. This was, the deprivation of the primate Sancroft and five other prelates, for their refusal of taking the new oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Notwithstanding these acts, the church remained without serious commotions during his sway.

In the reign of Anne, a complaint was made, to the house of commons, of two sermons, published by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, containing positions contrary to the principles of the Revolution, to the existing government, and to the protestant succession. Sacheverel was a man of narrow intellects, and an over-heated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of high-churchmen, and took all occasions to vent his animosity against the dissenters. The commons, having considered the complaint, ordered the clerical zealot to be taken into custody, and impeached him at the bar of the house of lords. Upon this occasion, the Tories were not idle. They boldly affirmed that the Whigs had formed designs hostile to the church, and only intended by the present prosecution to try their strength before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project; and Sacheverel was consequently

considered as the champion of the high party. The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial. It lasted three weeks, during which all other business was suspended; and the queen herself was every day present, though in quality of a private spectator. A vast multitude constantly attended Sacheverel to and from Westminster-hall, striving to kiss his hand, and praying for his deliverance. The queen's sedan was beset by the populace, exclaiming, "God bless your majesty and the church. We hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverel." The mob destroyed several meeting-houses, and plundered the dwelling-houses of many eminent dissenters. After obstinate disputes, and much virulent debate, Sacheverel was found guilty. His sentence imported, that he should be prohibited from preaching for three years, and his two sermons be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The lenity of the sentence was considered as a victory obtained over the Whigs.

In the succeeding reign, the zeal of the high-church party, though checked by the liberal spirit of the king, broke out into a warm controversy. Dr. Hoadly, bishop of Bangor, by recommending religious freedom, and animadverting on the impropriety of tests, entailed upon himself the censure of the Tory divines. He defended himself with learning and talent; but the lower house of convocation condemned his opinions, as hostile to ecclesiastical discipline. Since that time, the two houses of convocation have not been suffered to imitate the debating spirit of the lords and commons, but have merely met, *pro formâ*, with every new parliament.

George II. was as friendly to the cause of religious freedom as his father had been. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise, that sectaries should have multiplied in his reign. A remarkable sect arose, about the year 1739, under the auspices of Mr. John Wesley, who, conscientiously declining that preferment which he might have enjoyed in the established church, aimed at the establishment of a devout fraternity. His disciples, pretending to the adoption of a more strict *method*, and to a greater purity of faith, than any other votaries of religion, received the denomination of *Methodists*. Mr. George Whitefield, who had less learning, and a greater portion of enthusiasm, than Wesley, favoured the new scheme of faith and grace; but, while one leaned to Calvinism, or to the doctrines of election and predestination, the other was more inclined to the propagation

of Arminianism or free will. Both branches of the new sect diffused their influence to a wide extent. The countess of Huntingdon was a great encourager of the Methodists. She liberally contributed to the erection of places of worship for the increasing society, and founded a college for training youth to the sectarian ministry.

The presbyterians, at the same time, formed a very numerous class of dissenters in England, Wales, and Ireland, while, in Scotland, they continued to compose the established church. In that part of the united kingdom, an alarm was excited, in the year 1780, by a declared intention of extending, to the catholics of the north, that freedom of worship, and right of inheriting or purchasing landed property, which had recently been granted by law to the English followers of the Romish system. Riots arose in several towns, but they were quickly suppressed. The flame, however, which burst forth in England, blazed for a time with dreadful vehemence. An immense multitude, wearing blue cockades, assembled in St. George's-fields, in order to petition the two houses against the late act. They proceeded by different routes, in a quiet and orderly manner, to Palace-yard. But, the procession being augmented by a great number of evil-minded persons, who put cockades in their hats, and cried, "No popery," with an intent to rob and commit outrages, a most unhappy scene ensued. A lawless mob, for several days, paraded the streets, burning or destroying catholic chapels and houses, setting open prisons, stealing effects, and extorting money from the inhabitants; till the soldiery put a stop to their outrages, by killing two hundred of them, and taking a great number into custody. The ring-leaders were afterwards tried, condemned, and hanged upon the several spots where they had committed their depredations. The most prominent outrage was their setting fire to the prisons of the Fleet, the King's Bench, and Newgate; and the most alarming attempt was that which they made on the Bank of England, with an avowed design to plunder it, and to destroy the books. Lord George Gordon was afterwards tried for having collected this assembly; but, as it appeared that he was actuated merely by religious principles, and had never encouraged the mob to commit, nor even expected that they would commit, any outrage, he was acquitted.

Fanaticism is not yet wholly banished from the earth, and ambition still less. This insurrection is a proof, that it is

easy to stir up the people with the cry, *Religion is in danger*. Who knows what the consequence of such a tumult might have been, if, instead of a lord George Gordon, it had been headed by another Cromwell!

In the year 1793, the progress of toleration, and the more enlightened spirit of the times, gratified the votaries of the Romish religion in Ireland with various *indulgences*, or (in their own opinion) with those *rights* to which they were entitled. They were permitted to vote at parliamentary elections, and to enjoy many offices to which (from the time of queen Elizabeth) they had not been admissible: but, being still excluded from the highest employments, and from the privilege of sitting and voting in parliament, they remained in a state of dissatisfaction and disgust.

The catholics of Great-Britain deserved equal indulgence with their Hibernian brethren; but they were not even allowed to vote at elections. In a country in which they formed the far greater part of the population, it was thought prudent and politic to conciliate them. In Britain, the same urgent motive did not exist.

Attempts have been repeatedly made, in the present reign, to procure a removal of all tests, that dissenters of every denomination may be placed upon an equal footing with the members of the established church: but these endeavours have been strenuously and effectually counteracted. The advocates of orthodoxy maintain, with regard to the protestant non-conformists, that they have no right to expect a participation of preferments or offices, if they will not comply with the easy terms upon which they may obtain them; and, with reference to the followers of the Romish system, that it would be more particularly unsafe to give them the power of subverting a church to which they are inveterately hostile, and of undermining a government of which protestantism is the basis and the essence.

The followers of the established church were alarmed at the continued progress of the methodists, who, confining to themselves the title of evangelical preachers, acquired great influence over the ordinary people. Some of the regular pastors were induced to practise a more interesting and impressive mode of predication, with a view of keeping their flocks within the pale of the church; but all their efforts could not prevent the annual increase of methodism. The vulgarity and illiteracy of many of the sectarian preachers at length induced a minister of state, in the year 1811, to

propose a new law, by which a license for preaching should only be granted to those who could procure a respectable recommendation; but this slight degree of interference excited such loud clamours, that lord Sidmouth relinquished his scheme of reform, which, instead of injuring the non-conformist assemblies, would have added weight to their religious proceedings.

With regard to the present state of the hierarchy, it may be observed, that the episcopal bench is very respectably filled, and that the heads of the church exercise their functions with general propriety and moderation. The prelates, indeed, are usually brought forward by interest, rather than selected for excellence of character: but there are occasional instances of the promotion of divines who have been recommended only by learning and worth; and it would be uncandid and illiberal to affirm, that those who have risen by the powerful influence of the noble or the opulent have disgraced their stations by want of merit. From the change of times and of manners, the sanctity of an apostle, or of a father of the church, cannot be expected in a modern bishop. If the prelates attend to the concerns of religion, maintain decorum in their manners, and avoid the grossness of vice and immorality, the public have reason to be satisfied.

For some years, churchmen and dissenters have vied with each other in promoting the most extensive circulation of the scriptures. The addition of short explanatory notes would be preferable to the mere display of the sacred text; for the common people, to whom copies are either given, or sold at a low price, are so prone to misapprehension, and so liable to error in endeavouring to recollect or to understand what is not perfectly clear, that every apparent obscurity ought to be previously removed by the biblical scholar.

CHAP. III.

GOVERNMENT. A.D. 1688—1815.

IN the reign of William, the perpetual contest between the Whigs and Tories, and the supposed necessity of granting large supplies to support the war on the continent, gave rise to two great and growing evils, intimately connected with each other;—the national debt, and the corruption of the house of commons. At the same time that the king, by a

pernicious funding system, was loading the state with immense sums, borrowed to maintain his continental connections, he was liberal of the public money to his servants at home, and employed it with little ceremony, to bring over his enemies, or to procure a majority in parliament.

In order to put a stop to this corruption, so far as it affected the representatives of the people, a bill was brought in for triennial parliaments; and William found himself under the necessity of passing it, or of losing the vote of supply, with which it was coupled. He was besides afraid to exert the influence of the crown, in defeating a bill of so much consequence to the nation; more especially as the queen, whose death he was sensible would weaken his authority, was then indisposed. A similar bill was extorted from Charles I., but repealed soon after the Restoration, in compliment to Charles II. To this imprudent compliance may be ascribed the principal disorders of that and the subsequent reign. A house of commons, elected once in three years, would have formed such a strong bulwark of liberty, as must have baffled or discouraged all the attacks of arbitrary power. The more honest and independent part of the community, therefore, zealously promoted the present law; which, while it continued in force, certainly contributed to stem the tide of corruption, and to produce a more fair representation of the people.

The speedy and fortunate suppression of the rebellion, in 1715, increased the influence of the crown. The Whig ministry, being no longer under apprehensions from the encroachments of arbitrary power, and willing utterly to crush their political enemies, without foreseeing the consequences to public liberty, framed a bill for repealing the triennial act, and for *extending the duration* of parliaments to the term of *seven years*. This bill, though warmly opposed by the Tories, (who now, in contradiction to their principles, took the popular side of all questions,) and by many independent and unprejudiced members of both houses, was carried by a great majority.

Sir Robert Walpole was considered as the prime minister of England, when George I. died; and some differences having happened between him and the prince of Wales, it was generally thought, upon the accession of the latter to the crown, that Sir Robert would be displaced. That might have been the case, could another person have been found equally capable of managing the house of commons, and

gratifying that predilection for Hanover which George II. inherited from his father. No minister ever understood better the temper of the people of England than Walpole, and none, perhaps, ever tried it more. He filled all places of power, trust, and profit, and almost the house of commons itself, with his own creatures; but peace was his darling object, because he thought that war must be fatal to his power. During his long administration, he never lost a question that he was earnestly disposed to carry. The excise scheme was the first measure that gave a shock to his power; and even that object he might have achieved, had he not been afraid of the spirit of the people. He was so far from checking the freedom of debate, that he bore with equanimity the most scurrilous abuse that was thrown out to his face. He gave way to some prosecutions for libels, when his friends thought themselves affected by them; but it is certain, that the press of England was never more free than during his administration. And as to his pacific system, it undoubtedly more than repaid to the nation all that was required to support it, by the increase of trade, and the improvement of manufactures. With regard to the king's personal concern in public matters, Walpole was rather his minister than his favourite; and his majesty often hinted to him, that he was responsible for all the measures of government.

From the resignation of Walpole to the death of his royal patron, no beneficial change occurred in the government. Those who, when they moved in the ranks of opposition, boasted of their high regard for public freedom and the rights of the people, were induced, when they entered into office, to follow the *routine* of ministerial practice, and were more ready to undermine than to support the constitution.

After the accession of his present majesty, some points were apparently gained by the advocates of popular pretensions. By a spontaneous act of the new king, the twelve judges of the realm were rendered more independent than they had ever before been; and, in consequence of that spirit which was promoted by the zeal of Wilkes, general warrants for the seizure of persons and papers were pronounced illegal, with an exception of those cases in which the charge involved high-treason. By the intrepid perseverance of the same *senator*, (if his factious spirit should be supposed to detract from his claim to the character of a *patriot*,) that

vote which had annulled the legal choice of the freeholders of Middlesex, and had seated in the house of commons an individual who had no just pretensions to the honour, was at length rescinded; and thus the rights of electors were confirmed. In cases of controverted election, a bill which was introduced by the ex-minister, Mr. George Grenville, promised to operate as a remedy for that partiality with which such disputes had been decided. It was opposed by lord North; but it obtained the assent of the house. That assembly was rendered, in some degree, less corrupt by an exclusion of contractors; and ministerial influence received a check from an act which disqualified officers of the revenue from voting at elections. But, though the direct authority of the crown was diminished, its influence continued rather to increase than to decline.

When the excesses of the French revolution had alarmed the different governments of Europe, the British ministers, Mr. Pitt and lord Grenville, brought forward two bills which encroached on the freedom and rights of the people. One of these statutes gave a severe check to public meetings, from which great mischief was apprehended; while the other tended to confound sedition with treason, and, without that necessity which alone could justify such an act, rendered the law more terrific and sanguinary.

Before Mr. Pitt was invested with political power, he had strenuously promoted a reform of the popular representation; and, even while he was in office, he professed a similar wish: but, after the mischievous explosion in France, he retracted and relinquished his opinion, and, while he was employed in forcing a legislative union upon the Hibernian nation, he expressed his hope, that, as the new elections proposed for the Irish members would be conducted on the principles of fair representation, this arrangement would be deemed preclusive of any farther reform. Propositions, however, have been subsequently made for that constitutional purpose; and, though they have been uniformly unsuccessful, it does not necessarily follow, that they will always be discountenanced. Such a measure affords the only chance for a repression of that encroaching influence, which may otherwise, at no very distant period, render the constitution an empty name. This is not the language of faction, or the effusion of splenetic discontent: the remark is solely dictated by a zealous regard for the honour and interest of our country.

The inconsistency of Mr. Pitt was also observable in another point connected with the political influence of the people. When the interest of the coalition continued to prevail in the house of commons, so as to threaten him with serious obstructions to his ministerial sway, he recommended an appeal to the general voice of the nation; and the king dissolved the parliament. But, when he wished that the existing parliament of Ireland should relinquish its independent power, he would not suffer any new elections to take place, because he knew that the people were unfriendly to the scheme. Yet, in the latter case, the appeal was more constitutionally expedient than in the former, and more urgently required by political justice and integrity.

CHAP. IV.

LITERATURE. A. D. 1688—1815.

THE names of Newton and Locke adorned the reign of William III. That monarch had a particular esteem for the latter, as he had also for Tillotson and Burnet, though he was far from being liberal to men of genius. During this reign, Locke wrote his *Essay on Government*, and Swift, his *Tale of a Tub*. These are two of the most excellent prose compositions in our language, whether we consider the style or matter. The former is an example of close manly reasoning, and the latter of the irresistible force of ridicule, when supported by wit, humour, and satire.

But as William, though a powerful prince, and the prime mover of the political machine of Europe, was deemed in England, by one half of the nation, only the head of a faction, many of the nobility and gentry kept at a distance from court; so that the advance of taste was very inconsiderable, till the reign of Anne. Then the splendour of heroic actions called off, for a time, the attention of all parties from political disputes, to contemplate the glory of their country. Then appeared a crowd of great men, whose characters are well known, and whose names are familiar to every ear. Then subsisted, in full force, that natural connection between the learned and the great, by which the latter never fail to be gainers. Swift, Addison, Congreve, Rowe, Steele, Prior, Pope, and other men of genius in that age, not only enjoyed the friendship and familiarity of the principal persons in power, but most of them, in early life, obtained places in

some of the less burthensome departments of government, which put it in their power to pass the rest of their days in ease and independence.

Thus raised to respect, above the necessity of writing for bread, and enabled to follow their particular veins, several of those men of genius united their talents, in furnishing the public with a daily paper, under the name of the *Spectator*; which, by combating, with reason and raillery, the faults in composition and improprieties in behaviour, as well as the reigning vices and follies of the time, had a wonderful effect upon the taste and manners of the nation. It contributed greatly to polish and improve both.

The reign of Anne has been styled the Augustan age of English literature: but its flourishing state continued beyond that period; and, from her death to that of the second George, no visible decline ensued. The ministers of George I. were the patrons of erudition, and some of them were no mean proficient themselves. George II. was himself no Mæcenas; yet his reign yielded to none of the preceding in the number of learned and ingenious men it produced. The episcopal bench was never known to be so well adorned with able prelates, as it was in the early years of his reign; a proof that his nobility and ministers were judges of literary qualifications. In other departments of erudition, the favour of the public generally compensated the coldness of the court. After the rebellion in the year 1745, when Mr. Pelham was considered as first minister, the screen between government and literature was in a great measure removed, and men of genius began to taste the royal bounty.

The science and literature of that reign embraced every object of human contemplation. Maclaurin ably illustrated the philosophy of Newton, and particularly distinguished himself by his system of fluxions. Dr. Halley was celebrated for his skill in astronomy, and for his zealous attention to the improvement of navigation. Metaphysics were studied with acuteness by Andrew Baxter, who endeavoured to demonstrate the immateriality of the soul from the principles of reason and philosophy; and the talents of bishop Berkeley and of David Hartley, in the same pursuit, were generally acknowledged. Theology had many able and learned cultivators, among whom may be mentioned the prelates Sherlock, Hare, Warburton, Butler, and Hoadly, beside Dr. Chapman, and the very respectable dissenters, Lardner and Leland. Atterbury, the unfortunate bishop of Rochester,

was an admired preacher: but his published sermons are not more elegant or interesting than those of Seed. Derham enlisted natural history in the cause of religion, and "declared the glory of God" by an appeal to his varied and wonderful works. Hervey, in his *Descant on Creation*, studiously promoted the same object; and his *Meditations* are still read with pleasure and advantage: but, if they were less affectedly florid, they would be more agreeable to readers of taste. Moral philosophy was arrayed, by Dr. Francis Hutcheson, in a more attractive dress than it had usually worn; and the excellence of his character added to the interest which his work excited.

The physicians of the time did not trust, like Dr. Radcliffe, to experience alone, but prepared themselves for practice by a regular course of study; and they were more inclined than their predecessors to publish their observations for mutual improvement. Dr. Mead flourished at the head of his profession. His treatises on pestilential contagion and on poisons, and his "*Medical Admonitions and Precepts*,"* were long esteemed. Dr. Cheyne was less eminent, but was far from being unskilful. He investigated, with particular attention, the nature of the *English malady*, or nervous complaint, and proposed the most efficacious remedies. The most celebrated contemporary surgeon was Cheselden, whose *Anatomy and Osteography* evinced his professional knowledge, and who excelled in the treatment of the eye, and in lithotomy, or cutting for the stone.

As reading became more general, a great number of writers solicited public notice. Lord Bolingbroke was the best political author of the time; while those whom sir Robert Walpole patronized and rewarded, possessed little merit or ability. Hume, in his *Political Discourses*, mingled a spirit of philosophy with that important subject; and, as an historian, he combined profundity of thought with elegance of expression. The most celebrated critic of the age was Dr. Richard Bentley; but, while he threw light upon the works of the ancients, he was not equally happy in the illustration of Milton, whose text he corrupted by pretended emendations. Dr. Middleton added, to his theological attainments, the talents of a polite and classical writer. Hooke produced a more accurate and satisfactory account of the Roman kingdom and republic, than any former English writer. The

* *Monita et Præcepta Medica.*

earl of Cork, by his literary talents, reflected on the peerage a greater lustre than he derived from it. Biography assumed a pleasing form in the hands of Mallet, whose *Life of Sir Francis Bacon*, if it may be justly censured for an inadequate and imperfect investigation of the philosophical merit of that great man, is by no means inelegant or uninteresting. The attractions of fictitious narrative were agreeably heightened by Richardson, who, in well-constructed and regular stories, delineated the human character in all its variations, explained the springs of action and the motives of conduct, and, by using the epistolary form of composition, tacitly offered an apology for minuteness and circumstantiality. Fielding took Cervantes for his model, and ridiculed the follies and extravagances of mankind with satirical force and appropriate humour. Brooke, the dramatist, was also an esteemed novelist; and his *Fool of Quality* is both entertaining and instructive.

Among the periodical papers of that period, the *Rambler*, written almost wholly by Dr. Johnson, shines pre-eminent. His *Idler* also displays considerable merit. Both these productions are deficient in variety and vivacity: but they are treasures of moral wisdom. The same author endeavoured to fix the language by his celebrated *Dictionary*, to which more frequent reference is made than to any other standard. The definitions are, in general, just and precise: but the etymological part of the work is, in many instances, inaccurate and defective.

The present reign has been fertile in scientific and literary fruits. Every branch of philosophy has been cultivated with zeal and success; and every art has been particularly interwoven with the literature of the time by the commission of its rules to writing, and the dissemination of practical advice for its improvement. Attempts have been made to undermine the Newtonian system; but it supports itself against every attack by the firmness of its foundation, more than by the fame of its illustrious author. Astronomy is indebted to the royal professors at Greenwich for a more profuse display of its stores; but our knowledge of this science has been less augmented by their labours than by those of Herschel, an emigrant from Germany; of whom it is said, that "he has extended the power of telescopes, discovered the *Georgium Sidus*, examined the fixed stars with peculiar success, and added thousands of stars to the number previously known." Navigation has been prosecuted with greater precision, in

consequence of astronomical discoveries. The longitude at sea has been more accurately discovered by the medium of a time-piece, furnished with a thermometrical balance. Geology and mineralogy have been studied with indefatigable zeal; and, in the mechanical operations of the latter pursuit, the mischief arising from accidental explosion has been in a great measure prevented by the use of a particular lamp, the ingenious contrivance of Sir Humphry Davy. Chemistry has been highly improved; and the properties of the air which we breathe have been more clearly defined. The history of animated nature, the forms and habits of every species of animal, have been examined with a discriminating eye. To botany and the whole vegetable system, unusual attention has been paid. In the art of healing natural disorders, and the treatment of wounds and accidental injuries, greater skill has been evinced, so as to give additional security to human life. In that point of view, the introduction of vaccination, by Dr. Jenner, has been found remarkably efficacious, by checking the ravages of a dreadful disease, which, notwithstanding the practice of *variolous inoculation*, annually swept off a multitude of persons.

The extraordinary increase of news-papers, the great variety of information which they contain, the remarkable freedom of discussion which they exhibit, and the general eagerness with which they are perused, claim transient notice in this survey of literature. These journals, more particularly since the parliamentary debates have been freely and copiously reported, have extended the spirit of inquiry, improved the public mind, and added cogency and weight to the expression of the national opinion. But their good effect is diminished by the corruption and venality of many of the writers, by the factious licentiousness of others, and by the illiberal animadversions and strictures which occasionally deform their pages.

Of the national schools, erected upon the plans of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, some mention may also be expected. They are calculated to afford elementary instruction to hundreds of children at the same instant, by a rapid process; and, if they should be encouraged by liberal subscriptions, we may be allowed to entertain the hope, that very few of the present race of young persons will be unable to read or write.

CHAP. V.

THE ARTS. A. D. 1688—1815.

THE very useful art of agriculture has been greatly improved within the last fifty years. Many of the nobility and gentry attend personally to the management of their estates, and, with the advice of reflecting men, have given a scientific direction to the practice of husbandry. Societies, formed in different counties, have been found particularly beneficial in this respect; and from the board of agriculture, instituted by the government in the year 1793, many provincial surveys have emanated, which, by affording grounds of comparison, have led to considerable improvement. Chemistry has been rendered subservient to the fertilization of land; and the products of the earth have been more varied and abundant.

Gardening has profited by the general improvement of agriculture; and rural habitations have thus received additional comfort and ornament. For gardening, upon an extensive scale, we are indebted to the taste and genius of Kent. He taught us (says an historian) to imitate nature, or, more properly speaking, *to act upon her plan*, in forming our pleasure-grounds, instead of impressing upon every natural object the hard stamp of art. He taught us, that the whole secret of modern gardening consists in making proper use of natural scenery, wood and water, hill and valley, in conjunction with architecture, so as to give beauty and variety to the embellished ground; in judiciously veiling or exposing the surrounding country; in contrasting the luxuriant meadow with the barren heath, the verdant slope with the rugged steep, the sylvan temple with the ruined tower, the meandering rill with the majestic river, and the smooth surface of the lake, or artificial sea, with Nature's most sublime object, a view of the boundless and ever-agitated ocean.

While the culture of land was improved, the art of covering its surface with buildings did not decline. Sir Christopher Wren, who flourished in the preceding period, continued to superintend the construction of elegant edifices, formed upon Grecian models: but, after the cathedral of St. Paul, no structure could give him additional fame. Sir John Vanbrugh had less taste; and it is indeed astonishing, that he who displayed in his comedies such a vein of wit and pleasantry, should have been so dull and heavy in his architectural designs. Of the fifty new churches, which, at the desire of

queen Anne, the parliament ordered to be erected, (though the resolution was never carried into full effect,) some were built by Gibbs, on whose abilities they reflect credit. He also contributed, by the admired Senate-house, to the embellishment of Cambridge. The earl of Burlington was not merely an *amateur*, but a professor, of this noble art, in which Kent, the improver of pleasure-grounds, had likewise a considerable degree of skill. These ingenious men were succeeded by Robert Adam, whose plan of the Adelphi excited general attention, and by Sir William Chambers, whose erections, on the spot which contained the palace of the protector Somerset, combine taste and magnificence with great commodiousness and utility. Wyatt's imitations of Gothic splendour concur with his original plans to establish his fame; and Soane may be mentioned with praise, as an intelligent and able director of architectural operations.

In the construction of bridges, some improvements are observable. To that of Black-friars, says Dr. Russell, "*antiquity cannot afford a parallel*;" yet it has been asserted, with equal confidence, that it is deficient in substantiality, and does not promise to be very durable. That which has been lately erected over the Thames, and denominated Waterloo-bridge, is less elegant, but is superior in strength and firmness. That of Vaux-hall is both strong and ornamental, and has arches of cast-iron, with piers of stone. A bridge over the Taaffe in Glamorganshire, consisting of one arch of an extraordinary span, the work of a common mechanic, has been highly praised for its capability of resisting the utmost force of the swollen stream, which had previously swept away two less judicious erections. Three openings through the stone-work, on each side of the arch, have so far diminished the pressure, as to save the bridge.

As both public and private buildings have been greatly improved, their interior decorations have also become more elegant. Not only rude and ill-shaped articles of furniture have given way to the neatest specimens of modern art, but, in the progress of luxury, additional accommodations have been introduced. The houses of many persons, even of the middle class, are replete with every appendage that can be deemed useful, and with every gay article that pride or ostentation can desire; and those who are reckoned among the poor have, in numerous instances, the means of procuring something more than the necessaries of life; but these means

have been deplorably diminished by the rapid increase of burthensome taxation, consequent on a protracted war.

The mechanic arts have thriven by British culture. Judgement, dexterity, and persevering industry, have improved almost every branch of manufacture. By the use of machinery, many articles of dress have been produced in a better form, and with much greater quickness, than by mere personal labour; and the powers of the steam-engine have been strikingly augmented, so as to expedite and perfect various branches of metallic operation.

In the fine or polite arts, for a considerable time, less proficiency was made. Sculpture was rarely practised with skill by native artists before the present reign: but Bacon, who was at first a painter of porcelain, at length attracted notice by his models, the forms of which he transferred, by an instrument of his own invention, to the stone or marble. His statue of Mars was hailed as a promising specimen of genius, from an artist who had never studied at Rome; and he was thenceforward employed by persons of taste in a variety of figures and groupes. Banks, like Bacon, was strongly impelled to farther exertion by the grant of rewards from a society which had been instituted at London in 1753, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. He executed monuments and other works of considerable merit, both in this country and in Russia. Many admired works have also proceeded from the chisel of Flaxman; and the genius of Westmacott shines in the same branch of art.

The painters who were principally encouraged in England, in the earlier part of this period, were foreigners: yet Jervas, a native artist, was honoured with patronage, and praised by the poets. Sir James Thornhill was employed by queen Anne and her two successors; and he embellished Greenwich hospital and Hampton-court with great effect; for he soared above the talent of a mere portrait-painter. Highmore also directed his attention to historical subjects; but Richardson and Hudson confined themselves to portraits. The last-named artist was more distinguished as the instructor of Reynolds, than by his own excellence.

An artist of a peculiar taste arose in the person of Hogarth, who, without being qualified for the highest department of his favourite art, delineated regular moral stories, and thus became the novelist of painting. In his *Rake's* and *Harlot's Progress*, he amused and instructed the public; and some of

his single or detached pieces are pregnant with characteristic humour.

When the king's admiration of the arts prompted him, in 1768, to institute the Royal Academy, he appointed sir Joshua Reynolds the first president. Many of the portraits produced by this artist are excellent, in point of resemblance, character, and grace; but the colouring is not formed for permanency. He also represented, with great elegance and effect, some subjects drawn from history. From the hands of West, who succeeded him in the presidency, we have a much greater number of historic pieces; and, if they display less freedom and spirit than those of sir Joshua, yet many of them have great merit. Gainsborough became an able artist with little instruction, and excelled in the delineation of rural scenes. Morland, who was also little indebted to regular study, depicted landscapes and rustic life with interesting fidelity. Opie likewise emerged from obscurity to pictorial fame, and, with a peculiarity of manner, painted both good portraits and historical and miscellaneous pieces. Barry, being employed by the Society of Arts to decorate the place where the members assembled, produced a series of pictures, which exhibit the fire of genius, not accompanied, however, with the most refined taste. Sir Thomas Laurence is considered by many as the best portrait-painter of the present day: Westall is more conversant in landscape: and Wilkie exhibits, with humour and correctness, traits of character and manners, drawn from ordinary life.

In music, foreign composers long had a paramount influence in this country; and the charm is not yet broken, as the opera-house is still thronged with the admirers of Italian harmony. Dr. Arne, Arnold, and Shield, however, were able composers; and some of their native successors, now living, occasionally enchant us with enlivening strains or impressive melody.

In ancient times, music and poetry were united in practice by the same individual; but they have, for many ages, formed distinct pursuits. In the first reign belonging to this period, Dryden still survived, enjoying the highest rank among the poets of the time: for Addison and Prior were far from being equal to him. After his death, that distinction was claimed by Pope, to whom the Muses disclosed all their charms. The poems of Congreve are unworthy of his genius; and Gay, though his *Fables* are very pleasing compositions, cannot justly be considered as a great poet,

Thomson took a comprehensive view of the tranquil, the picturesque, and the wild scenes of nature, and embodied them in his charming *Seasons*. The *Love-Elegies* of Hammond are elegant and classical. Dr. Young's poetic character was tinged with gloom; but, to minds of a serious turn, his *Night-Thoughts* will ever be agreeable. The few remains of Collins are so captivating, that we wish he had written more. Gray and Akenside courted the lyric muse with success. Goldsmith's poems possess an elegant simplicity, which is far from being feeble or nerveless. Churchill surprised the world with his *Rosciad*; but his fame and merit afterward declined. Mason was a respectable poet, without the fervour of genius. The productions of Burns are interesting, forcible, and pathetic.

Of living bards we have a considerable number. Those who are most admired are Walter Scott and lord Byron. From the example and reputation of the former, a new school has arisen, of which the chief features seem to be, an affectation of antique phraseology, a fondness for chivalrous incidents and adventures, and a profusion of imagery; with a small sprinkling of sentiment and pathos. Southey has favoured the public with some works of merit; but, since he obtained that courtly laurel, "which Dryden and divine Spenser wore," his efforts have miserably declined. The pleasures of memory and of hope have been forcibly represented by Rogers and Campbell; and rural scenes have derived new attractions from the genius of Bloomfield, whom the patronage of Capel Lofft contributed to raise from the obscurity of mechanic life.

CHAP. VI.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES. A. D. 1688—1815.

THIS flourishing period presents a multitude of distinguished names; but our limits will only allow the mention of a select number.

About the commencement of this period, died Dr. *Ralph Cudworth*, a divine of great learning, and a zealous defender of religion. After being a distinguished tutor at Emanuel-college, Cambridge, he became master of Clare-hall, and afterwards of Christ's-college. He was regarded as an acute metaphysician, a sound reasoner, and an able mathema-

tician; and his piety was equal to his erudition. His *True Intellectual System* is his most celebrated work.

Dr. *Thomas Sydenham*, who died in 1689, surpassed all his contemporaries in medical skill. He was educated at Oxford; but, when that city was converted into a garrison by the adherents of Charles I., he repaired to London, and was advised by a friend to study and practise the healing art. When the parliamentarians had the chief sway, he returned to the university, and, subscribing the covenant, zealously followed the advice which he had received. He at length fixed his residence at Westminster, and gradually acquired the most extensive practice. He introduced the cool regimen in the small-pox, and was particularly successful in checking the progress of epidemical distempers.

Dr. *John Tillotson*, who died in 1694, was the son of a clothier in Yorkshire, and was educated at Cambridge. Though he was bred among the puritans, he readily conformed at the Restoration to the church of England. He distinguished himself by his zeal against the progress of popery, both in his preaching and from the press. His sermons were formerly much read and esteemed; and they do not deserve to be neglected, whatever may be the value of many of those discourses which are now in more general estimation. He attended lord Russel at his execution; and it is remarkable that he urged upon him, as also did Dr. Burnet, the doctrine of non-resistance;—a principle which both saw reason to renounce afterwards. At the Revolution he was taken into the entire confidence of William and Mary; and, when Sancroft was deprived of his see, the metropolitan dignity was conferred on him, much against his inclination.

Sir *William Temple*, a celebrated statesman, who died in 1700, rendered his country important services as ambassador to the United States, particularly in concluding the triple league of England, Holland, and Sweden, and in effecting the marriage between the princess Mary and William. In 1680 he retired from public affairs; but he was often consulted by the persons who managed the government, and was often visited by king William. He was a *strict observer of truth*, being of opinion, that no one who failed once in veracity, ought ever to be trusted again. His conversation was easy and pleasant. He hated dispute, and avoided expostulations, which, he used to say, might sometimes do well between lovers, but never between friends. In his *Memoirs and Letters*, he improved the harmony of the English lan-

guage. His Miscellanies contain many curious pieces, which display a considerable depth of thought.

John Dryden, the poet, was born of a respectable family in Northamptonshire, and educated under the famous Dr. Busby at Westminster-school, whence he removed to Trinity-college, Cambridge. He was not rigid or inflexible in his principles; for he complimented, in heroic stanzas, the memory of Cromwell, and he soon after flattered and panegyrised the restored king. In 1668, he succeeded Sir William Davenant as poet-laureate; and, in the following year, his first play, *the Wild Gallant*, was performed. At the Revolution, because he had suffered himself to be perverted to the Romish faith, he was dismissed from the office of royal poet, which was conferred upon Shadwell, whom he severely satirised in his *Mac-Flecknoe*. In 1697, he published his admirable translation of Virgil. His abilities did not decline with his years. He was an improving writer to the last, even to near seventy years of age; improving even in fire and imagination, as well as in judgement; which may be seen in his *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, and his *Fables*, his latest performances. He was equally excellent in verse and prose. "I have heard him frequently own with pleasure," says Congreve, "that, if he had any talent for English prose, it was owing to his having often read the writings of the great archbishop Tillotson. His versification and his numbers he could learn of nobody; for he first possessed those talents in perfection in our tongue." He died in 1700.

John Locke, who died in 1704, was the most celebrated philosopher of the age in which he lived. He was intended for the medical profession; which, however, he did not regularly practise. His *Essay on the Human Understanding* and his *Treatise on Education*, have rendered his name immortal. He gives the following advice to a gentleman who complained that he had lost many ideas by their slipping out of his mind. "Never go without a pen and ink, or something, to write down all thoughts of moment that come into your mind. I must own I have often omitted it, and have often repented of it. The thoughts that come unsought, and, as it were, drop into the mind, are commonly the most valuable of any we have, and therefore should be secured, because they seldom return." This writer was not, like many studious men, neglected by the great; for he was patronised by the earls of Shaftesbury and Northumberland, and obtained some considerable posts: but he at length retired from public busi-

ness, and passed the four last years of his life chiefly in the study of the Scriptures.

Dr *Gilbert Burnet*, who died in 1715, was a native of Edinburgh, and educated at Aberdeen. At the age of twenty-six, he was chosen professor of divinity at Glasgow; but, in 1674, he resigned his professorship, and settled in London, where he was appointed preacher at the Rolls chapel. About this time commenced his acquaintance with the earl of Rochester, which happily ended in his lordship's conversion. In 1686, he settled in Holland, on the invitation of the prince of Orange, to whom, in his intended design of invading England, he was of the most important service. In 1689 he was promoted to the see of Salisbury; and, during his episcopal administration, he distinguished himself by his moderation toward dissenters. In 1699 appeared his *Exposition of the thirty-nine articles of the church of England*. His other publications are the *Histories of the Reformation*, and of *his own Time*, an excellent treatise on the pastoral care, and several sermons. His Life of the earl of Rochester is an admirable performance, which young people should read with attention. It exhibits a picture of the miseries of vice, painted in striking and glowing colours. This dissipated nobleman, in his last illness, summoned all his servants into his bed-chamber, to declare before them the horrors that he felt at the recollection of his past life, and hoped that what he then suffered from his vicious courses, would have the effect of preventing them from following his example.

Nicholas Rowe, who died in 1718, was educated at Westminster-school, and afterwards became a student of the Temple: but, says Dr. Johnson, he "suffered law gradually to give way to poetry;" and the success of the *Ambitious Step-Mother*, his first tragedy, induced him to devote himself wholly to literary pursuits. Six other tragedies followed; of which, the most interesting and popular are the *Fair Penitent* and *Jane Shore*. Mr. Rowe also translated Lucan's *Pharsalia* with admirable felicity. He was neglected by the court in the time of queen Anne; but, in the succeeding reign, he was made poet-laureate, and farther gratified with a post in the custom-house, and an employment under the lord-chancellor. He had only reached his forty-fifth year when he died. He was a lively and pleasant companion, and a master of polite learning.

The Rev. *John Flamsteed*, a celebrated English astronomer, when very young, discovered a great turn for mathematical learning, and sent to the Royal Society calculations of some remarkable eclipses of the fixed stars by the moon, for which he received the thanks of that learned body. Sir Jonas Moore introduced him to the king, and procured for him the place of astronomer royal. In 1675, the foundation-stone of the Royal Observatory was laid, when Mr. Flamsteed removed, with all his *apparatus*, to the queen's house at Greenwich, where he resided till his death, in 1719. In the Philosophical Transactions are many of his papers; but his great work is, *Historia Cælestis Britannica*.

Joseph Addison, who died in 1719, wrote the most admired papers in the Spectator, and in other publications of the same kind. In those papers he has discussed an infinite variety of subjects, both comic and serious, and has treated each so happily, that one would suppose he had studied that alone. He enchants us with all the magic of humour, and all the attractive charms of natural and moral beauty. Our language is more indebted to him, not only for words and phrases, but for images, than to any other writer in prose. His *Cato* is one of our best modern tragedies. In 1716, by his marriage with the countess-dowager of Warwick and Holland, he became possessed of Holland-house, near Kensington. Here was the scene of his last moments, and of his affecting interview with the earl of Warwick, to whom he had been tutor, and whose licentious manners he had anxiously, but in vain, endeavoured to repress. As a last effort, he sent for him into the room where he lay at the point of death, hoping that the solemnity of the scene might make some impression upon him. When that young nobleman came, he requested to know his commands, and received the memorable answer, "See in what peace a Christian can die." Dr. Johnson, after drawing his character in a forcible and elegant manner, says, "Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison."

Matthew Prior, who died in 1721, was both a poet and a statesman. From the patronage of the earl of Dorset, he derived the benefit of an academical education. At St. John's college, Cambridge, he obtained a fellowship, which he enjoyed during the whole remainder of his life. He early dis-

played his wit and humour in ridiculing the Hind and Panther, a poem which Dryden had written in defence of popery. Being recommended by his patron to king William, he was appointed secretary to several ambassadors; and he was still more favoured by queen Anne, who sent him to France as her minister plenipotentiary. For his concern in the treaty of Utrecht, he was excepted out of the act of grace, which George I. granted in 1717; but he was only punished with imprisonment. His most considerable poem is his *Solomon*, in which he has exposed, with force and elegance, the vanity of human pursuits. His lighter pieces are lively and pleasing; and his manner of relating a story has been particularly admired.

Sir Christopher Wren was the most eminent architect of his age, as well as an excellent mathematician. In 1661, he was chosen Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford; and, in 1668, he was appointed surveyor-general of his majesty's works. The conflagration of the city of London gave him many opportunities of employing his genius; for the cathedral of St. Paul, some of the parochial churches, and other public structures, which had been destroyed by that dreadful calamity, were rebuilt from his designs, and under his direction. After being president of the Royal Society, and a member of parliament, he died in 1723.

Sir Isaac Newton, who died in 1727, was the greatest philosopher and mathematician that ever appeared. His doctrine of the power of gravitation, and his theory of light and colours, will immortalise his name. He likewise studied and explained the Scriptures. Dr. Halley, the mathematician, before he applied himself to this study, was once speaking rather freely on the subject of revelation, in company with Sir Isaac, who pointedly said to him, "I am always glad to hear you, sir, when you speak about astronomy, or other parts of mathematics, because that is a subject which you have studied, and well understand; but you should not talk of Christianity, for you have not studied it; *I have*, and am certain that you know nothing of the matter." This great man was born in Lincolnshire, and educated at Trinity-college, Cambridge. He rapidly surmounted every difficulty in Euclid's Elements; and, when he had studied the works of M. Des-Cartes with little profit, he was stimulated by the *Arithmetica Infinitorum* of Dr. Wallis to the exercise of his own sagacity and invention. He soon discovered the method of fluxions; and he proceeded, with zeal and ability,

to the establishment of those principles upon which the system of nature appeared to him to be founded. In his political capacity, he promoted the Revolution; and, on the recommendation of Mr. Montague, (afterwards earl of Halifax,) he was appointed by king William warden of the mint. He subsequently became master of that establishment, and lived in affluence and fame to his eighty-fifth year.

Sir *Richard Steele*, in concert with Addison and others, published the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*. He was a ready composer, well versed in polite literature, and of a very lively genius. He certainly was not equal to his friend Addison; but his essays are not (as they have sometimes been called) *mere trash*; and his comedy of the *Conscious Lovers* may still be read with pleasure and interest. He died in 1729, as did also a man of greater talents, *William Congreve*, whose comedies abound with wit and vivacity, and display a great knowledge of human nature.

About the same time died another eminent man, Dr. *Samuel Clarke*, whose theological erudition, mathematical knowledge, and philosophical learning, distinguished him from the ordinary class of divines. As he enjoyed the favour both of queen Anne and George I., he would probably have risen to the episcopal dignity, if he had not given offence to the heads of the church by his latitudinarian notions respecting the Trinity.

John Gay, who died in 1732, is well known as the author of beautiful *Fables*, which will be read and admired as long as any taste for that kind of writing shall exist. His *Beggar's Opera* had a run unparalleled in the history of the stage, being acted in London sixty-three nights without interruption. Of this performance, when it was printed, the reception was different, according to the different opinions of its readers. Swift commended it for the excellence of its morality, as a piece that *placed all kinds of vice in the strongest and most odious light*; but others censured it as giving encouragement not only to vice, but to crimes, by making a highwayman the hero, and dismissing him at last unpunished.

Alexander Pope, an illustrious poet, says, "that he *lisp'd in numbers*, and that he could not remember the time when he began to make verses." In the style of fiction, it might have been said of him as of Pindar, that, when he lay in his cradle, *the bees swarmed about his mouth*. A propensity to versification manifested itself in him as soon as he had read some of the works of Dryden, whom he preferred to the

other poets. At the age of ten he was impressed with such veneration for his instructor, that he persuaded some friends to take him to the coffee-house which Dryden frequented, and pleased himself with having seen him. "Who does not wish," says Johnson, "that Dryden could have known the value of the homage that was paid him, and foreseen the greatness of his young admirer?" Self-confidence is the first requisite to great undertakings; and he who is pleased with himself, easily imagines that he shall please others. Pope published some well-written odes and translations before he was fourteen years of age. He tried all styles, and many subjects. He wrote a comedy, a tragedy, and an epic poem, which he afterwards destroyed. His pastorals first introduced him to the wits of the day; his *Windsor Forest* added to his growing fame; but his *Essay on Criticism*, which is a master-piece in the art, widely extended it. His judgement as a poet being now universally acknowledged, his next publication no less happily proved the extent of his fancy, and the power of his creative imagination. This was the *Rape of the Lock*, an inimitable display of poetical talent. This is the most airy, ingenious, and delightful, of all his compositions, occasioned by a frolic of gallantry, rather too familiar, in which lord Petre cut off a lock of Mrs. Arabella Fermor's hair. The design of the poet is, as he tells us, to laugh at *the little unguarded follies of the female sex*. In 1713 appeared his proposals for a translation of Homer's *Iliad*, the subscriptions for which amounted to six thousand pounds, besides twelve hundred pounds which Lintot gave him for the copy. He then purchased a house at Twickenham, whither he retired with his parents. By the assistance of Broome and Fenton, he translated the *Odyssey*. He afterwards published the *Dunciad*, in which he satirised the dullness of the court, and the stupidity of authors. At the desire of lord Bolingbroke, he wrote the *Essay on Man*, an ethical poem, in which are many beautiful and highly-finished passages.

His method of composition was to write his first thoughts in his first words, and gradually to amplify, decorate, rectify, and refine them. He has left, in his version of Homer, a treasure of poetical elegancies to posterity. That work may be said to have tuned the English tongue; for, since its appearance, no writer, however deficient in other powers, has wanted melody. In poetical vigour Dryden is superior to

Pope; but, though the former has brighter paragraphs, he has not better poems.

Pope was fretful, and easily displeased. He would sometimes leave the earl of Oxford silently, no one could tell why, and was to be courted back by more letters and messages than the footmen were willing to carry. His frugality bordered upon parsimony. When he had two guests in the house, he would set a single pint upon the table; and, having himself taken two small glasses, would retire, and say, *Gentlemen, I leave you to your wine.* He was, however, the friend of religion and virtue; and his letters are replete with feelings of benevolence.

This admired poet was of a puny, delicate constitution: yet, by care and temperance, his life was prolonged to his fifty-sixth year. He died in 1744.

Dr. *Jonathan Swift*, an illustrious wit, poet, and satirist, was born, according to some, in Ireland, and, as others say, in England, in 1667. In his academical studies at Dublin, he was either not diligent, or not happy. It must disappoint every reader's expectations to learn, that, when at the usual time he claimed the bachelorship of arts, he was found by the examiners too conspicuously deficient for regular admission, and obtained his degree at last by *special favour*, a term used in that university to denote want of merit. Of this disgrace it may be easily supposed that he was much ashamed; and shame had its proper effect in producing reformation. He resolved, from that time, to study eight hours in a day, and continued his industry for seven years, with what improvement is sufficiently known. This part of Swift's history (says Dr. Johnson) well deserves to be remembered; it may afford useful admonition and powerful encouragement to many, whose abilities have been made for a time useless by their passions or pleasures, and who, having lost one part of life in idleness, are tempted to throw away the remainder in despair.

Being left destitute by the death of his uncle, upon whom he had relied for support, he paid a visit to sir William Temple, who received him with great kindness, and employed him in correcting his works. He thus became known to king William, who, as his notions were all military, expressed his kindness to Swift by offering to make him a captain of horse. Having quarreled with his patron in 1694, he entered into holy orders, and obtained the prebend of Kilroot. But

sir William could not bear his absence; and, a reconciliation taking place, Swift returned to the house of his friend, who, when he died, bequeathed to him a pecuniary legacy and his posthumous works. Swift then endeavoured to procure some preferment in England, but was disappointed; on which he became chaplain and private secretary to lord Berkeley, one of the lords-justices of Ireland, but was soon after dismissed with the livings of Laracor and Rathbeggin. He resided at the former of these places, performing the duties of a parish-priest with great exactness and decorum. While he was there, he invited over from England the celebrated Stella, whom he afterwards privately married, but with whom he never associated, except in the company of a third person.

After the accession of queen Anne, he distinguished himself as a political writer. In 1713 he became dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. He had set his mind on some good church-preferment in England, and had even looked to a bishopric; this preferment, therefore, was rather a disappointment than otherwise. He died in a state of mental imbecility, in 1745. In his lucid moments he bequeathed the bulk of his fortune to erect a hospital in Dublin, for idiots and lunatics.

The company of dean Swift was courted by persons of the first rank in life and literature. He had a rule never to speak more than a minute at a time, and wait for others to take up the conversation. He was peculiarly happy in punning; and used to say, "that none despised that talent but those who were without it." He also greatly excelled in telling stories; but, in the latter part of his life, he used to tell them rather too often. He never dealt in the *double entendre*, or profaneness upon sacred subjects. He loved to have ladies in company, because it preserved, he said, the delicacy of conversation: yet he was the most gross and indelicate of writers.

His Tory zeal was strongly displayed in his pamphlet respecting the *Conduct of the Allies*, in the periodical paper called the *Examiner*, and other productions. *The Travels of Lemuel Gulliver* strikingly exhibit his humorous and satirical propensity.

His sarcasm upon the Revolution deserves notice. When he was informed of king William's selection of these words for a motto, *Non rapui, sed recepi*,* he said, "There is an old saying, and a true one—the receiver is as bad as the

* "I did not seize the crown, but I received it."

thief. This remark is also applicable to those rapacious and unprincipled men, who, for services which have been already overpaid, accept, from prodigal ministers, large pensions, of which they frequently are not in want, and which they know to be far superior to their deserts.

James Thomson, an admired poet, was born in the shire of Roxburgh, in 1700, and educated at the university of Edinburgh. Being intended for the church, he performed a probationary exercise by explaining a psalm, when his diction was so poetically splendid, that Mr. Hamilton, the professor of divinity, reproved him for speaking language unintelligible to a popular audience. Having now resolved to go to London, he procured letters of recommendation, which he had tied up carefully in his handkerchief; but, as he passed along the street, with the gaping curiosity of a stranger, he gave attention to every thing rather than to his pocket, and was robbed of his magazine of credentials. He met, however, with a kind reception from his friends, and, in a short time, published his *Winter*. He dedicated his *Spring* to the countess of Hertford, whose practice it was to invite, every summer, some poet into the country, to hear her verses and assist her studies. This honour was one summer conferred on Thomson, who took more delight in carousing with lord Hertford and his friends, than in assisting her ladyship's poetical operations, and therefore never received from her another invitation. His poetical pursuits were for a time interrupted by his accompanying on his travels Mr. Charles Talbot, son of the lord-chancellor, with whom he visited most of the courts and capital cities of Europe. Soon after his return, he lost, not only his fellow-traveller, but also lord Talbot himself, and was thus reduced, from an easy competency, to a state of precarious dependence, in which he passed the remainder of his life, except the two last years of it, when he enjoyed the place of surveyor-general of the Leeward Islands, procured for him by lord Lyttelton. He died in 1748. His *Seasons* bring before us the whole magnificence of nature, whether pleasing or dreadful; and have not, either in style or imagery, ever been equaled. His tragedy of *Coriolanus* was brought upon the stage after his death, recommended by a prologue, which Quin, who had long been the friend of Thomson, recited in such a manner as shewed him to be, on that occasion, *no actor*. The commencement of this intimacy is very honourable to Quin, who is reported to

have delivered the poet (then known to him only for his genius) from an arrest, by a very considerable present; and its continuance is honourable to both; for friendship is not always the sequel of obligation. Thomson was silent in mingled company, but cheerful among select friends, who always spoke with the most eager praise of his social qualities, and the warmth and constancy of his friendship.

Dr. *Isaac Watts*, an eminent divine, an ingenious poet, and a multifarious writer, received his education under Mr. Rowe, who kept an excellent seminary in London, and to whom his grateful pupil inscribed a Latin ode. In 1696, he went to reside with sir John Hartop, as tutor to his son. He afterwards entered into the family of sir Thomas Abney, after whose death he continued to reside with the lady and her daughter to the time of his death. For some years he preached to a dissenting congregation; but his weak state of health induced him to discontinue that practice. He died in 1748. He was a pious and amiable man, free from all bigotry and sectarian pride. His talents were highly respectable, and he employed them in the most useful way. Few men have left behind them such purity of character, or such monuments of laborious piety. He has provided instruction for all ages, from those who are lisping their first lessons, to the enlightened readers of Malebranche and Locke; he has left neither corporeal nor spiritual nature unexamined; he has taught the art of reasoning, and the science of the stars. His treatise on logic has been received into the universities, and therefore wants no private recommendation. "Few books have been perused by me," says Dr. Johnson, "with greater pleasure, than his *Improvement of the Mind*, of which the radical principles may indeed be found in Locke's *Conduct of the Understanding*; but they are so expanded and ramified by Watts, as to confer upon him the merit of a work in the highest degree useful and pleasing. Whoever has the care of instructing others, may be charged with deficiency in his duty, if this book is not recommended." He excelled in devotional poetry; and his version of the psalms, and his original hymns, are highly popular. In his natural temper, he was quick of resentment; but, in his established and habitual practice, he was gentle, modest, and inoffensive. His tenderness appeared in his attention to children, and to the poor.

Dr. *Conyers Middleton*, a famous divine and critic, traveled into Italy, which gave occasion for his well-known

letter from Rome, shewing the conformity between popery and paganism. His capital performance is the History of Cicero, perhaps one of the most complete pieces of biography ever written. His *Discourse on the Miraculous Powers of the Christian Church* gave rise to a controversy, in which his orthodoxy was strongly disputed. His death happened in 1750.

In the following year died *Henry Saint-John*, lord *Bolingbroke*, whose political conduct has been noticed in the civil history. After his return from exile, he became an able literary opposer of Walpole's administration. His *Letters on History* are excellent; but his philosophical works should be read with caution, as they contain many things which clash with the great truths of revelation.

Dr. *Philip Doddridge*, who died at Lisbon in 1751, was one of the most respectable men of the age in which he flourished. His non-conformity may be lamented; but, as he was a conscientious Christian, his merit ought not to be under-valued. He chiefly exercised his ministry at Northampton, where he also superintended the education of youth. His principal work is his *Family Expositor*, which abounds with religious and moral instruction. His *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, and his *Memoirs of Colonel Gardiner*, who united fervent piety with courage and patriotism, are likewise well known and esteemed.

Mr. *William Whiston*, a divine and mathematician of uncommon parts and learning, was sir Isaac Newton's deputy and successor, in the Lucasian professorship of mathematics. He published several works explanatory of the Newtonian philosophy, and had the honour of being one of the first who rendered those principles popular. The work by which he is best known is, "*A Theory of the Earth, from its Original to the Consummation of all Things*;" wherein the creation of the world in six days, the universal deluge, and the general conflagration, as laid down in the holy scriptures, are shown to be perfectly agreeable to reason and philosophy. Being in conversation with Walpole, when the discourse happened to turn upon politics, Whiston affirmed, "that there could be no true policy without being founded in morality." Sir Robert replied, "he had heard a great deal of those theories in his time: but, as men were constituted, it would be impossible to put them into practice." Whiston still continued in his opinion, whilst Sir Robert took the contrary side; at last, seeing no end of the argu-

ment, the philosopher dryly replied, "Suppose, sir, *you try my advice for once*, and then give me your opinion afterwards."—The queen, walking with him in Hampton-court garden, observed, that, however right he might be in his notions on some subjects, it would be, perhaps, better if he kept them to himself.—"Is your majesty really serious in your advice?" said the old man. "I am, really," replied the queen.—"If Martin Luther (rejoined Whiston) had been of your way of thinking, where would your majesty have been at this time?"—He died in 1752.

In the same year died Dr. *Joseph Butler*, bishop of Durham, a favourite of queen Caroline. His sermons are esteemed; but his principal work is that which treats of the analogy of religion, natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of nature.

Henry Fielding is more known as the author of three admirable novels, *Joseph Andrews*, *Tom Jones*, and *Amelia*, than as a theatrical writer, or an investigator of the affairs of police. He possessed an estate of two hundred pounds per annum, and married a lady who had fifteen hundred pounds. This fortune, had it been managed with prudence and oeconomy, might have secured to him a state of independence for life, and, with the aids which it might have derived from the productions of a genius unencumbered with anxieties and perplexity, might have even afforded him an affluent income; but he prodigally opened the gates of hospitality, and suffered his whole patrimony to be devoured by hounds, horses, and entertainments. He was afterwards appointed a magistrate for Middlesex, and died in 1754.

William Collins was endowed with a great genius for poetry, as appears from his *Ode to the Passions*: but his merit was under-valued by his contemporaries. He hoped to procure, by literary occupation, that comfortable subsistence which his small patrimonial property denied him: but he was not sufficiently prudent or steady to command employment in the capacity of a professional author; and his disappointment seriously affected his spirits. Harassed with debts, and wounded by neglect, he lost his soundness of mind, and declined into melancholy and helpless imbecility. He was rescued from absolute poverty by the testamentary liberality of an uncle; but it did not enable him to recover the energy of his intellect. He died at his native town of Chichester, in 1756.

Dr. *Hartley*, an eminent physician, who died in 1757, is well known by an excellent work, entitled, *Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations*. "You do well to take Hartley with you," said Dr. Johnson to a friend: "the Bible is the best book; but, next to it, Dr. Hartley's is one of the best." The late Dr. Reid, of Glasgow, has also written on the *Intellectual Powers of Man* in a masterly manner.

Samuel Richardson, a distinguished novelist, was born in Derbyshire, in 1689. He had only an ordinary education; but his natural talents, and his acuteness of observation, enabled him to amuse and instruct the world. In 1740, when he was only known as an industrious printer, he surprised the world by his *Pamela*. *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison* followed, and diffused his fame not only over his native island, but through every region of the continent. He depicted both virtuous and vicious characters with fidelity and skill, and particularly excelled in the development of the female heart. He died in 1761.

William Shenstone, an agreeable poet, after quitting the university of Oxford, retired to his paternal estate, the Leasowes, which he laid out in great taste. Here he devoted himself to rural pleasures and poetry. To embellish the form of Nature is a laudable amusement. This he did with such judgement and fancy, as made his little domain the envy of the great, and the admiration of the skilful; a place to be visited by travellers, and copied by designers. The pleasure of Shenstone, however, was all in his eye. He valued what he valued merely for its looks. Nothing raised his indignation more than to ask, if there were any fishes in his water. In time, his expenses brought clamours about him, which overpowered the lamb's bleat and the linnet's song; and his groves were haunted by beings very different from *Fauns* and fairies. He spent his estate in adorning it; and his death, in 1763, was probably hastened by his anxieties. He was a lamp that spent its oil in blazing. There are some good stanzas in his *Pastoral Ballad*; and the *School-mistress* is a pleasing imitation of Spenser's manner. His greatest fault is, the want of vigour.

Alan Ramsay, a celebrated Scottish poet, wrote several excellent songs and much-esteemed poems; but his best performance was *The Gentle Shepherd*, a pastoral comedy, in which nature is painted to the life. He died in 1763.

Dr. *Edward Young*, an excellent writer both in prose and verse, first published his poem called *The Last Day*, which gave great satisfaction, and procured him numerous friends, among the rest Addison, for whose *Spectator* he wrote several papers. The turn of his mind inclining him to the church, he entered into orders, was made chaplain to the king, and obtained the living of Welwyn in Hertfordshire. In his satires, entitled "*Love of Fame the Universal Passion*," the characters are selected with discernment, and drawn with nicety; the illustrations are happy, and the reflections just. Young has the gaiety of Horace without his laxity of numbers, and the morality of Juvenal with greater variation of images. But Swift says, that "the poet should have been either more angry or merry." The loss of his wife, (daughter of the earl of Lichfield,) and of her two children, produced his *Complaint, or Night-Thoughts*, in which he has exhibited a very wide display of original poetry, variegated with deep reflections and striking allusions; a wilderness of thought, in which the fertility of fancy scatters flowers of every hue and odour. "In this work," says Dr. Johnson, which finely represents the author's melancholy and morality, "particular lines are not to be regarded; the power is in the whole, and in the whole there is a magnificence like that ascribed to a Chinese plantation, the magnificence of vast extent and endless diversity." The author died in 1765, at the age of eighty-one years. He enjoys the credit of an *extempore* epigram on Voltaire, who, when he was in England, ridiculed, in the company of the jealous English poet, Milton's allegory of *Sin and Death*.

"Thou art so witty, profligate, and thin,
"At once we think thee Milton, Death, and Sin."

Dr. *John Leland*, who died in 1766, was an eminent dissenting minister, and an able and zealous defender of revealed religion. He entered into an ample investigation of all the arguments adduced by deistical writers, and secured the triumph of Christianity over its most acute opponents.

The Rev. *Laurence Sterne*, author of *Tristram Shandy*, was an original and ingenious writer. Of his skill in delineating and supporting his characters, those of his uncle Toby, and of corporal Trim, afford ample proof. To his power in the pathetic, whoever shall read the stories of *Le Fevre*, *Maria*, the *Monk*, and the *Dead Ass*, must, if he has

feelings, bear a sufficient testimony. On entering into orders, he obtained the living of Sutton. He married in 1741, and, soon after, was made a prebendary of York. In 1762, he went to France, and two years after to Italy, for the recovery of his health. His admired *Sentimental Journey* was the fruit of the former excursion. He died in 1768.

Thomas Chatterton, the ingenious author of poems published under the name of Rowley, was first an attorney's clerk, and afterwards a literary labourer for booksellers. Being involved in great distress, he committed suicide, in 1770. If Horace Walpole, the romance-writer, *virtuoso*, and antiquary, who derived a large income from his father's public services, had possessed an atom of liberality, this unfortunate youth, who applied to him for temporary succour, might have been saved from ruin.

Thomas Gray, an eminent poet, resided chiefly at Cambridge, where he was appointed professor of modern history. He was one of the most learned men in Europe, being equally acquainted with the elegant and profound parts of science. His *Elegy in a Country Church-yard* abounds with images which find a mirror in every mind, and with sentiments to which every bosom returns an echo. After the death of Colley Cibber, Mr. Gray had the honour of refusing the laurel, which was bestowed on Mr. William Whitehead. He died in 1771.

Dr. *Tobias Smollett*, a novelist and miscellaneous writer, was born in Scotland, in 1720. He served as a surgeon's mate in the navy, in the unfortunate expedition to Carthage; and, after his return to Britain, endeavoured to establish himself in the capacity of a physician; but, being discouraged by the difficulty of forcing himself into extensive practice, he had recourse to his pen for subsistence. He soon found patronage among the booksellers; but, not being distinguished by rigid œconomy, he did not elevate himself to a state of opulence. His best novel is that which he first produced—the *Adventures of Roderic Random*: but all his works of that description possess great merit. His *History of England* was written in haste, without reference to original authorities: yet it met with great success. He attempted dramatic composition, without shining in it; and in poetry he did not particularly excel, though his *Ode to Independence* is not contemptible.

Philip Dormer Stanhope, earl of *Chesterfield*, an eminent statesman, and an elegant writer, was a particular favourite of

George II., who made him high-steward of the household, and afterwards lord-lieutenant of Ireland. In 1768 he lost his son, which, with his own infirmities, rendered the remainder of his life very unpleasant. *Infidelity* could not support him in the time of trial, and he sank into a state of wretched despondency. His celebrated *Letters to his Son* display a brilliancy of talent, and much knowledge of the world, but shew him to have been destitute of *principle*, and defective in judgement. With his lordship, the art of pleasing is every thing. But let young people ever remember, that a man of polished manners, and mere external accomplishments, without a good heart and virtuous conduct, is no better than a *painted sepulchre*. He died in 1773.

George, lord *Lyttelton*, an ingenious and good man, distinguished himself in parliament as one of the warmest opponents of sir Robert Walpole. In 1737, he became secretary to the prince of Wales, who, being driven from St. James's, kept a separate court, and openly countenanced the opposition. When Walpole retired, Lyttelton was made one of the lords of the treasury. In 1747, he published his *Observations on the Conversion of St. Paul*,—a treatise to which infidelity has never been able to fabricate a specious answer. His last literary work was the *History of Henry II.*, which does honour to his judgement and candour. His lordship married Miss Lucy Fortescue, of Devonshire, with whom he lived in the highest degree of connubial felicity. But human pleasures are short. She died in child-bed about five years afterwards; when, after bewailing her loss in an elegant monody, he was content to seek happiness in a second marriage; but the experiment was unsuccessful. He died the death of a Christian, in 1773; of which event his physician gave a very affecting and instructive account. "Doctor," said he, "you shall be my confessor. When I first set out in the world, attempts were made to shake my belief in Christianity. I saw difficulties which staggered me; but I kept my mind open to conviction. The evidences and doctrines of it, studied with attention, made me a most firm believer of the Christian religion. I have made it the rule of my life, and it is the ground of my future hopes. I have erred and sinned, but have repented, and never indulged any vicious habits."

Oliver Goldsmith, a pleasing poet and historian, was born in Ireland, and educated at the university of Dublin. He took the degree of bachelor of physic, but, like Dr. Smollett,

preferred writing to medical practice. He visited France, Germany, and other parts of the continent, enjoying the scenes of nature, and studying the human passions. He subsisted chiefly by a little skill in music, which made him acceptable to the peasantry; but he often met with a kind reception at the religious houses, where his genius and learning were much esteemed. He afterwards settled in London, and rose by degrees into fame, from his poems, plays, and other writings. He might have acquired a competency, had he not been too generous and prodigal. He died in 1774. His *Vicar of Wakefield*, *Traveller*, and *Deserted Village*, have great merit; and his *Histories of Rome, Greece, and England*, are not contemptible. His last work, *the History of the Earth and Animated Nature*, is still popular.

David Hume, a profound and sagacious historian, died in 1776. His *History of England* is the best extant. In his other writings, he often loses himself in the mazes of scepticism. The young and inexperienced, therefore, ought not to enter the labyrinth, as they may not easily find their way out. This celebrated writer was born, in 1711, of a respectable family in North-Britain. Having passed through the ordinary course of education, he officiated as clerk to a merchant at Bristol: but he was soon disgusted with a commercial life; and, having some property, he retired to France, to pursue his studies in privacy. After his return to his native country, he lived for some time as preceptor to the marquis of Annandale. In 1752, he was appointed librarian to the college of advocates at Edinburgh;—an employment which first inspired him with the idea of writing the *History of England*. In 1763, he acted as secretary to the earl of Hertford, who was sent to France in a diplomatic capacity; and, when his lordship left Paris, the historian was for some time the chief representative of his sovereign.

William Pitt, the illustrious earl of Chatham, first distinguished himself in parliament by his powerful eloquence in opposition to Sir Robert Walpole. For this, the duchess of Marlborough left him, in her will, 10,000*l*. During his own administration, his eye ran through every department of the state; and, therefore, as he was vigilant, all was activity and promptitude. Thus the designs of the enemy were baffled, and his own were executed before they were suspected. When the important question of general warrants was discussed in parliament, his love of rational liberty broke forth in the most animated strains. He declared

them to be repugnant to every principle of freedom. “By the British constitution,” said this eloquent statesman, “every man’s house is his castle: not that it is surrounded by walls and battlements; it may be a straw-built shed; every wind of heaven may whistle round it; all the elements of heaven may enter it; but the king cannot, the king dares not.” From the beginning of the American war, the earl set himself vigorously in opposition to the mad measures of an infatuated ministry. His eloquence shook the senate, and echoed through the kingdom. He warned the nation against an unnatural and fruitless contest; and his last effort in public was in speaking on the question of American independence. In the midst of his speech he was seized with a convulsive fit, and died on the 11th of May, 1778.

Dr. John Armstrong, an eminent physician and poet, died in 1779. The *Art of preserving Health* will transmit his name to posterity as an ingenious and able writer. The classical correctness and closeness of style, in this piece, are truly admirable; and the subject is raised and adorned by a multiplicity of poetical images. *Dr. Mackenzie*, in his *History of Health*, has this beautiful eulogium of it: “To give every charming description and beautiful passage of this poem, one must transcribe the whole. We cannot, however, expect new rules, where the principal design was to raise and warm the heart into a compliance with the solid precepts of the ancients, which he has enforced with great strength and elegance. And, upon the whole, he has convinced us, by his own example, that we are not to blame antiquity for acknowledging

“One power of physic, melody, and song.”

Another poetical physician, in the same period, was *Dr. Mark Akenside*, whose *Pleasures of Imagination* will gratify every reader of taste.

Dr. William Warburton, who died in 1779, was a learned divine and an acute controversialist. By securing the regard and friendship of Mr. Pope, he increased that consequence which he derived from his abilities, and recommended himself to more general notice. From an inferior department in the law, he transferred himself to the clerical profession, and was at length elevated to the bishopric of Gloucester. His *Divine Legation of Moses* is founded on an extraordinary position, which he did not effectually establish—the omission of all mention of a future state among the doctrines which were

imparted to the Jews. By his imposing talents and arrogant dogmatism, he erected a kind of school of theological criticism, to which, among other divines, bishop Hurd, a more elegant scholar than Warburton, belonged.

David Garrick, who also died in 1779, was a *prodigy* of theatrical accomplishments; for he could, without the least preparation, transform himself into any character, tragic or comic, and seize instantaneously any passion of the human mind. The public often wished to see the celebrated Quin and this great actor fairly matched in two characters of equal importance. *The Fair Penitent* presented an opportunity of displaying their several merits, when it was observed that Quin changed colour, and Garrick seemed to be embarrassed. The former was too proud to own his feelings on the occasion; but Garrick was heard to say, "I believe Quin was as much frightened as myself." Quin had been strongly patronised by Frederic prince of Wales, and was employed to instruct the royal children in a correct pronounciation. The king's first speech being praised for its delivery, Quin exclaimed, "I taught the boy to speak."

James Harris, father of the earl of Malmsbury, after being appointed commissioner of the admiralty, was made secretary to the queen in 1774. Bishop Lowth says, that his *Hermes*, or *Philosophical Enquiry concerning Universal Grammar*, "is the most beautiful and perfect example of analysis that has been exhibited since the days of Aristotle." He died in 1780.

Sir *William Blackstone*, a learned lawyer, whose name is immortalised by his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, obtained Mr. Benson's prize-medal for the best verses on Milton. At the age of twenty he composed a treatise on the elements of architecture, for his own use. The study of the law put an end to these amusing pursuits. As a pleader, however, he made little progress, having no ready flow of eloquence or graceful delivery. In 1770, he was made one of the judges in the court of King's Bench, and shortly after he removed to the Common Pleas. He died in 1780.

Henry Home, usually styled lord Kames, was an able lawyer, logician, moralist, and critic. His *Elements of Criticism*, and his *Sketches of the History of Man*, evince acuteness, taste, and learning. He died in 1782, in his eighty-seventh year.

Dr. *William Hunter*, who died in 1783, was the son of a Scottish farmer, who wished him to enter into holy orders;

but the youth preferred the medical profession; and, when he had studied for some years at Edinburgh, he came to London, where he not only acted as an anatomical assistant to Dr. James Douglas, but also officiated as tutor to his son. He afterwards enjoyed great practice, particularly in midwifery. In 1762, he was appointed physician to the queen. His *Medical Commentaries* are esteemed; and his *Anatomy of the Gravid Uterus* is a splendid and useful work. While he thus flourished, his brother John was distinguished as a very able surgeon.

Dr. *Johnson*, who died in 1784, was one of the greatest writers of whom this country can boast. In his *Dictionary* and periodical publications, he has fixed our language, and regulated our morality. Though he was seventy-two years of age when he began his *Lives of the English Poets*, we perceive no decay of intellect, no abatement of his wonted vigour. On the contrary, it is a treasure of sound criticism, and a model of literary biography. Soon after the completion of this work, nature gave symptoms of failure, and warned him of his dissolution. This was an event, to which he had always looked with dread. But the last days of this excellent man were sun-shine. His gloomy apprehensions vanished; he saw the ground of his confidence, and departed in strong faith and lively hope. He had a noble independence of mind, and could never bear to stoop to any man, however exalted, or disguise his sentiments to flatter another. His judgement was uncommonly acute and sound, his imagination quick and ready, and his conversation brilliant and instructive.

Dr. *Robert Lowth*, bishop of London, when professor at Oxford, delivered those admirable lectures on the *Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, which have immortalised his name. He published likewise an excellent *Grammar of the English Language*, and a *Translation of Isaiah*, the sublimest poetry in the world. He died in 1787. His successor was Dr. *Beilby Porteus*, an estimable man and an elegant scholar, whose sermons were admired in the delivery, and are interesting in the perusal.

John Whitehurst, having settled at Derby as a watch-maker, made the clock and chimes of the beautiful tower of All-Saints church, in that city. By his vicinity to the stupendous *phenomena* of Derbyshire, constantly presented to his observation, he was excited to investigate their causes. Being appointed stamper of the money-weights in 1775, he

removed to London, where he soon after published his *Enquiry into the Original State and Formation of the Earth*. He died in 1788, with the reputation of an acute philosopher and mechanist.

Thomas Day, who died in 1789, published, during the American war, several poems and pamphlets, reprobating the conduct of Britain in that contest. His fame, however, would not have been secured by the merit of these publications. His *Sandford and Merton*, a book purposely intended for the use of children, does him the greatest credit. This excellent work, as well as *Robinson Crusoe*, and *Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress*, ought to be in every young gentleman's library.

Dr. Henry, an eminent Scottish divine and historian, who died in 1790, is well known as the author of a history of Great-Britain, on a new plan, which has been highly approved. This abridgement is, in a great measure, written on the same plan.

In the same year, died the celebrated physician, *Dr. William Cullen*. He was born in Lanerkshire; and, after he had acted at Glasgow as a surgeon, he began in 1740 to prescribe as a physician. In 1756, he was chosen to fill the chair of chemistry at Edinburgh; and he at length acquired the chief object of his ambition, being appointed professor of medicine at that university. He endeavoured to form a new school, by broaching a theory which is thus described by an historian: "He derogated from the supposed importance of the circulation of the blood, referred health and disease to the state of the *solid moving powers*, and represented the *brain* as the chief organ that influenced the bodily predicament, not only in fevers, but in other disorders." This theory has still many partisans and defenders: but these are points which our limited capacity, perhaps, will never be able to ascertain.

John Howard, the philanthropist, visited all Europe, "not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the stateliness of temples," says Mr. Burke, "not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosity of modern art; not to collect medals, or collate manuscripts:—but to dive into the depths of dungeons; to plunge into the infection of hospitals; to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to visit the for-



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taken, and compare and collate the distresses of all men in all countries." In 1789, he published an account of the principal lazarettos in Europe, in which he signified his intention of re-visiting Russia and Turkey, and of extending his route into the East. Before he left England, when a friend expressed his concern at parting with him, from an apprehension that they should never meet again, he cheerfully replied, "We shall soon meet in heaven;" and, as he rather expected to die of the plague in Egypt, he added, "the way to heaven from Grand Cairo is as near as from London." This good man did actually fall a sacrifice to his humanity; for, in visiting a sick patient at Cherson, who had a malignant fever, he caught the infection, and died in the beginning of the year 1790.

Sir *Joshua Reynolds*, a most eminent painter, who died in 1792, was the son of a clergyman, and was born at Plympton in Devonshire. He was intended for his father's profession; but his inclination for the pictorial art proved irresistible. He studied drawing and portrait-painting with such zeal, that he made a rapid proficiency; and, having passed two years in a survey of those works of art which Italy exhibits in profusion, he commenced in his native country the exercise of his favourite pursuit, and soon acquired fame and fortune. His *Discourses on Painting*, delivered before the Royal Academy, over which he presided, reflect honour on his talents, taste, and judgement. It was supposed that Dr. Johnson had assisted him in these compositions; but the idea appears to be unfounded. Sir Joshua was the first promoter of the literary club, of which Johnson, Burke, and other great men, were members.

Sir *Richard Arkwright*, a celebrated manufacturer, was originally a barber, at Wirksworth in Derbyshire. In concert with one Kay, a clock-maker, he projected a machine for the spinning of cotton. He afterwards erected works at Cromford, and acquired a princely fortune. His system of machinery, to which he gave the name of a "Spinning Jenny," has given employment to thousands of families, and been productive of great commercial advantage to his country. He died in 1792.—*David Dale*, an enterprising North-Briton, profited by the instructions of Sir Richard, and established cotton-mills near the Clyde, by which he likewise acquired great opulence; and this branch of manufacture has since been carried on with increasing skill and success.

William Murray, earl of *Mansfield*, held the office of chief-justice of the King's-Bench for more than thirty years, with unparalleled splendour and reputation. The benevolence of his private life was equal to the excellence of his public character. Of his disinterestedness let it be observed, that he thrice refused the office of lord-chancellor, and never took any grant or emolument from the late king, for himself or any person belonging to him; and when the sufferers by the dreadful riots, in 1780, were to be reimbursed by the public, his lordship, in conjunction with the late great and good sir George Saville, nobly refused any compensation whatever, though his house in Bloomsbury-square was destroyed, with his fine library, manuscripts, and other valuable effects. He died in 1793.

Dr. William Robertson, an elegant and able writer, was educated at the university of Edinburgh, and became a distinguished minister of the kirk. His *History of Scotland* was compared by the earl of Chesterfield, for its interesting style and manner, to the celebrated work of Davila; and his *History of Charles the Fifth* established his fame over Europe. He died in 1793, at an advanced age.

Edward Gibbon, the historian, was born at Putney, in 1737, being the grandson of one of those speculators whom the house of commons punished with pecuniary forfeiture for the iniquity of the South-Sea scheme. He studied at Oxford, or rather kept a few terms in idleness. At Lausanne, he was more attentive to the improvement of his mind; and, while he lingered near the lake of Geneva, he was on the point of marrying an accomplished young lady, who afterward became the wife of the minister Necker, and the mother of the celebrated Madame de Stael: but his father prohibited an alliance with portionless beauty and merit. His first work was an *Essay on Literature*, composed in the French language. It displayed taste and cultivation, and was well received on the continent. In 1774, he was chosen member for Leskeard; and, while he remained a silent senator, he established his fame as an author by publishing the first part of his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. On the recommendation of Mr. Wedderburne, afterward lord Loughborough, he was appointed one of the lords of trade: but he had only enjoyed the place for three years, when the board was abolished by the spirit of the opposition. He finished his work at Lausanne, after he had retired from

public life. For the latter half of it, he is said to have received four thousand guineas. It exhibits philosophical acuteness and great learning: but the style is affected, and too florid for the sober dignity of history; and the author's freedom of animadversion, in relating the progress of Christianity, has subjected him to the severity of censure. He died in 1794.

Sir *William Jones*, an able orientalist, a general scholar, a learned and upright judge, was born at London in 1748. At Oxford, he became tutor to lord Althorp, now earl Spencer. He was in due time called to the bar; but he rarely practised in the courts at Westminster. In 1783, he was raised to the judicial bench in India, where his multifarious erudition and private virtues secured to him general esteem and regard. He did not live to return to this country, dying at Calcutta in 1794. His *Commentaries on Asiatic Poetry*, written in elegant Latin, evince his acquaintance with that pleasing subject. His accurate knowledge of the Persian language may be inferred from his Grammar, and his French translation of the *History of Nadir Shah*. He principally contributed to the formation of a society for the investigation of Asiatic antiquities and literature; and his discourses and essays, published in the successive volumes of its transactions, are particularly valuable.

Robert Burns, a Scottish poet of extraordinary genius, died in 1796. This pupil of nature was only a ploughman in Ayrshire, being (as he says) "born a very poor man's son." He was early inspired with a poetic talent; and, when he had with difficulty procured a few books, his *valdemecum* was a collection of songs. He at length produced some pieces which excited the admiration of his countrymen, and visited the Scottish capital to receive the homage which his genius claimed. When his poems had so far enriched him, that he was able to take a farm, he was too intemperate, and too fond of pleasure, to conduct business with prudence or steadiness. He obtained a small place in the excise-department; but, for speaking too freely of public affairs, he was threatened with dismissal. This treatment made a deep impression upon the irritable disposition of the bard; and it perhaps concurred with his excesses to hasten his death. He was a man of extraordinary sensibility, sincere, friendly, and humane; but proud, supercilious, overbearing, and, when he thought himself injured, resentful and vindictive. His conversation was uncommonly pleasing and

attractive; and, when he delivered his opinions, after mature deliberation, he was candid and just; but his hasty sentiments were sometimes as erroneous and ill-founded as those of the most unenlightened and misjudging men.

Edmund Burke, who died in 1797, was one of the most eloquent men of his age; perhaps second to none in any age. He was also an elegant and forcible writer. His essay on the *Sublime and Beautiful* is a composition of great taste. The *Vindication of Natural Society* is a happy imitation of Bolingbroke; and, in fact, it deceived for a time the greatest admirers of that writer. He was born at Dublin, in 1730, and educated at Trinity-college in that city, where, it is said, he did not distinguish himself. Having in vain solicited the professorship of logic at Glasgow, he repaired to the British metropolis, and began to write for subsistence and for fame. By the interest of his friend, William Gerard Hamilton, he obtained a pension from the crown; but, when his talents had recommended him to the marquis of Rockingham, who gave him a country-house and a seat in parliament, he resigned the fee of ministerial subserviency, and became a strenuous opposer of the court. He vehemently and justly declaimed against the American war; and persevered in his zealous counteraction, till the house of commons, shaking off the courtly yoke, put an end to that impolitic contest. He then became paymaster of the army; but he resigned his post, in concert with Mr. Fox; with whom, on the expulsion of lord Shelburne from the helm, he returned, in 1783, to a ministerial station. No senator more ably supported the India bill than Mr. Burke; and he was therefore dismissed from power with his popular friend. He afterwards distinguished himself as the accuser of Warren Hastings, formerly governor of Bengal. When the French revolution broke out, he viewed it with suspicion and distrust; and its progress so alarmed him, that he published his celebrated *Reflections*, with a view of preventing, in this country, any imitation of such a pernicious example. He pretended to be still as fond of liberty as he had ever been; but he dreaded the licentiousness of democracy. By his Anti-Gallican zeal, he so highly pleased Mr. Pitt and the court, that a large pension was granted to him. If he had acted solely from motives of patriotism, he would have rejected this offer, the more particularly as he had loudly condemned, and had contributed to check, the lavish grant of pensions; but he was disposed to think, that his own was fully

merited: and, when the duke of Bedford presumed to question the propriety of the grant, he reviled that nobleman and his ancestors in an intemperate pamphlet. Notwithstanding this and other instances of irritability, his private character was amiable and respectable.

James Burnet, commonly called lord Monboddo, the learned and ingenious author of the *Origin of Language*, died in 1799, at the advanced age of eighty-five. A constitution of body naturally framed to wear well and last long, was strengthened to his lordship by exercise, guarded by temperance, and by a tenor of mind too firm to be deeply broken in upon by those passions which consume the principles of life. He used to walk much in the open air. It is said, that he even found the use of what he called the *Air-Bath*, or the practice of occasionally walking about, for some minutes, naked, in a room filled with fresh and cool air, to be highly salutary.

The Rev. Dr. Hugh Blair, professor of Rhetoric and the *Belles Lettres* in the university of Edinburgh, who died in 1800, was a man of taste and judgement, and a very pleasing writer. In his *Sermons*, he is sometimes sublime, more frequently tender and softly pleasing, sometimes meltingly pathetic. Such a regard for correctness was never before united with a fire so pure and vivid. These discourses recommended him to the notice of her majesty, who rewarded his merit with a pension. It is supposed that he received nearly 4000*l.* at different times, for his literary productions. His *Lectures on Rhetoric* afford the best system of the principles of taste and the laws of literary composition, which has been offered to the world since the age of Quintilian.

William Cowper, who died in 1800, was an ingenious poet, whose *Tusk* is admired by every reader of taste. His translation of Homer does not abound with poetic fire; but it is more correct and faithful than Pope's version. In the *Adventures of John Gilpin*, simplicity, pleasantry, and humour, are apparent. He was an amiable and worthy man, esteemed by all who were acquainted with him; but his delicacy of nerves, and invincible timidity, rendered him unfit for public life, and prevented him from undertaking some important employments which were offered to him.

Dr. Erasmus Darwin, a native of Newark, began to practise the healing art at Lichfield in 1756, at the age of twenty-four years, and soon acquired high reputation. He was endowed with a poetic imagination; but he would not suffer

his love for the Muses to seduce him from his professional studies, before he had attained the age of forty-seven. His genius then broke forth with splendor; and his *Botanic Garden* established his fame as a pleasing and elegant poet, while the notes with which it was accompanied strongly excited and amply rewarded the attention of the philosophic reader. His poetry, however, is rather highly imaginative and splendidly descriptive, than morally interesting or deeply impressive. In his *Zöonomia*, he ingeniously, if not always satisfactorily, developed the laws of organic life; and, in his *Phytologia*, he ably illustrated the philosophy of agriculture and gardening. He died at Derby, in 1802.

Dr. James Beattie, the son of a farmer of Kincardineshire, was for some time a schoolmaster at Alloa, and afterwards became professor of moral philosophy and logic in the university of Aberdeen. His *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth* had sufficient merit to procure him a pension; and his poem of *the Minstrel* is greatly admired. He died in 1803.

Dr. Joseph Priestley, a well-known dissenting minister, was born near Leeds, in 1734. He displayed, at an early age, a strong inclination for literature, and a high regard both for religious and political freedom. After having acted as the pastor of various congregations, he lived for seven years in the house of the earl of Shelburne, as his friend and philosophical companion. At Birmingham, he officiated as a minister for eleven years; and he would not have left a town in which he had many esteemed friends, if his house had not been destroyed, in 1791, by the fury of a set of rioters, who thought him a fair object of attack, because he was supposed to be an admirer of the French revolution, of which, at that time, many worthy and respectable men entertained a favourable opinion. As Dr. Price, the political calculator, and the able champion of liberty, died in that year, Dr. Priestley succeeded him as the Unitarian minister at Hackney: but, in 1794, he emigrated to North-America. His survey of electricity, and his experiments and observations on different kinds of air, procured him the reputation of a philosopher: but his theological and metaphysical writings are less valuable. He died in 1804.

Dr. William Paley was celebrated as an academical tutor, before he distinguished himself as an erudite and able writer. He obtained various preferments in the north of England; and, if he had courted the favour of ministerial patrons, he

might have risen to the dignity of a prelate. His *Evidences of Christianity* entitled him to that honour. His *Elements of Moral and Political Philosophy*, and his *Natural Theology*, are also highly esteemed. He died in 1805.

Elizabeth Carter, who died in 1806, in the eighty-ninth year of her age, was admired for her talents and learning, and esteemed for her piety and virtue. She was indebted for her classical knowledge to the instructions of her father, who was rector of Deal. A translation of Epictetus was a bold attempt for a lady; but it was executed by Miss Carter with distinguished ability; and her introduction and notes enhance the value of the performance. Her Ode to Wisdom, and other poems, are ingenious and pleasing: and her contributions to the *Rambler* do not discredit that estimable work.

Anna Seward, who died in 1809, cultivated the poetic art with success. She was the daughter of a respectable clergyman, resident at Lichfield, whose judicious instructions improved her rising talents. She had opportunities of marrying to advantage; but she preferred a life of celibacy. Her *Elegy on the Death of Captain Cook*, and her *Monody on Major André*, without being faultless, possess considerable merit. To elegiac composition she gave the appearance of epic dignity. *Louisa*, a poetical novel, *Llangollen-Vale*, sonnets, and other pieces, contributed to the preservation of the fame which she had acquired. Since her decease, several volumes of her letters have been published, many of which are interesting, while some betray false criticism, vanity, and petulance.

Richard Cumberland, who died in 1811, was an author of great and diversified merit. He was grand-son of the celebrated critic Dr. Bentley; and his great-grand father was bishop Cumberland, the learned illustrator of the laws of nature. He studied at Trinity-college, Cambridge, with a view to the clerical profession; but, being requested by the earl of Halifax to become his secretary, he relinquished his original intention. He went to Ireland in the train of his patron, by whose favor he had the good fortune to obtain for his father the dignity of a prelate. It is not often that a son has such an opportunity of serving a parent. Having a strong inclination for the drama, he wrote several pieces before his *West-Indian* appeared. This comedy displays an agreeable combination of pleasantry and sentiment; and the characters of Belcour and Major O'Flaherty are admirably

drawn. His *Fashionable Lover* pleased the author more, and the public less. The *Wheel of Fortune* and the *Jew* were favourably received; but his tragedy of the *Carmelite*, though an interesting piece, soon ceased to be performed. In the *Observer*, a collection of essays, he evinced learning and taste; and, in his novels, he imitated, not without success, the humour of Fielding. His epic poem of *Calvary*, though sometimes dull, reflects credit on his genius. In 1780, the author was sent to Madrid, with a view of ascertaining the inclination of the Spanish court for peace. He was ill-treated by the ministry on this occasion, not having a proper allowance for the debts which he thought himself obliged to contract: but, when a place which he had for some years enjoyed was suppressed, he was gratified with a pension for life.

Dr. John Cookley Lettson may be introduced in this catalogue of distinguished persons, not merely as a physician, but because, to that skill which enabled him to prolong life, he added the most generous philanthropy and the most sincere desire of benefiting mankind. He was born in a small West-Indian island called Vandyke; and, after studying the medical art in England, practised it in Tortola. He commenced his career of benevolence by emancipating the negroes who belonged to his paternal estate. Being encouraged to exercise his skill in London, he met with great success, and continued his practice to an advanced age. He frequently relieved a poor patient with his purse, and made a liberal use of the produce of his medical experience. He promoted the establishment of dispensaries, and encouraged every useful and beneficent institution. His publications, which are numerous, are not only subservient to the cultivation of medicine and natural history, but have also a strong tendency to the propagation of every moral virtue. He died in 1815, in the seventy-first year of his age.

CHAP. VII.

COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES.—A.D. 1688—1815.

AFTER the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the persecuted protestants of France, to the number of almost a million, who had been chiefly employed in the French manufactures, took refuge in England, Holland, and other

countries, where they could enjoy the free exercise of their religion; carrying along with them their arts and ingenuity, and even the fruits of their industry, to a very great amount, in gold and silver. They were much caressed in England, where they improved or introduced the manufacture of hats, of silk, and of linen. The importation of those articles from France was soon prohibited, as inconsistent with national interest; the culture of flax was encouraged; raw silk was imported from Italy and China; beaver-skins were procured from Hudson's Bay, where settlements had been established, and where all sorts of furs were found in the greatest plenty, and of the most excellent quality. Watch-work was executed in England with the utmost elegance and exactness, as well as all other kinds of machinery, cutlery, and jewelry; the cotton-manufacture, now so highly perfected, was introduced; and toys of every species were at length finished with so much taste and facility, as to become an article of exportation, even to the European continent, and privately to France itself, the birth-place of fashion, and the nursery of splendid *bagatelles*.

In the mean time, the colonies in North-America enlarged their boundaries, and increased in wealth and population. New England furnished masts and yards for the royal navy, as well as timber for other uses; New York and New Jersey (formerly known by the name of *Nova Belgia*) conquered from the Dutch, and Pennsylvania, settled under the direction of the quaker Penn, produced abundant crops of corn, and a variety of other articles for the European markets, as well as for the supply of the English islands in the West-Indies; the tobacco of Virginia and Maryland became a staple commodity, in high request, and a great source of revenue; and the two Carolinas, by the culture of rice and indigo, and the manufacture of tar, pitch, and turpentine, so necessary to a naval and commercial people, soon became of vast importance.

But the most beneficial trade arose from the colonies in the West-Indian islands. Their rich produce, which was chiefly intended for exportation, and all carried in the ships of the mother-country, afforded employment to a great number of seamen; and, as the inhabitants were supplied with clothing of all kinds, household furniture, tools, and even the luxuries of the table, from Britain and Ireland, the intercourse was active, and productive of mutual prosperity.

Of the British commerce, that portion which we enjoyed

exclusively, viz. the colonial commerce, was long regarded as the most advantageous. Yet, since the separation of the American states from Great-Britain, the trade, industry, and manufactures, of the latter have very considerably increased. New markets have been opened, the returns from which are more certain and less tedious than those from America. By supplying a great variety of markets, the skill and ingenuity of our artisans have taken a wider range; the productions of their labour have been adapted to the wants, not of rising colonies, but of nations the most wealthy and refined; and our commercial system, no longer resting on the artificial basis of monopoly, has been rendered more solid as well as more liberal.

The trade of England to India constitutes one of the most stupendous machines, political as well as commercial, that are to be met with in history. The trade itself was exclusive, and lodged in a company, which had a temporary monopoly of it, in consideration of money advanced to the government. As the great power of this society excited the jealousy of the court, it was debated in the cabinet, in 1767, whether it would not be prudent and politic to take the territories under the immediate protection of the crown; but this measure was deemed too violent; and they were left to the company, in consideration of the annual payment of 400,000*l*. With these possessions, the corporation had the appearance of the most formidable commercial body which had been known in the world since the destruction of Carthage: but it was involved in great difficulties by a series of mismanagement, and, instead of regularly paying the annuity, even required a loan from the government. It so far retrieved its affairs, that, in 1776, the revenue afforded a clear surplus of 1,770,000*l*.; and the commercial investments were so far augmented, as to produce above three millions. Farther proofs of incompetency, however, for the proper management of political concerns, occasioned the appointment of a board of control, in 1784, by which the power and influence of the directors were materially diminished. Some years after this arrangement, the capital of the company was allowed by the parliament to be raised to five millions; and, in 1793, the monopoly was qualified by the allowance of private traffic, under certain restrictions. To shew the progress of the trade, it will be sufficient to state, that the annual sale of tea, silk, piece-goods, salt-petre, spices, drugs, and other articles, imported from the East, which, for sixteen years

prior to 1757, had scarcely exceeded the average of two millions, nearly amounted, in 1805-6, to nine millions, the private trade being included. But, as the exports were comparatively inconsiderable, much bullion and money were requisite to supply the deficiency. The charges of the three governments, at the same time, could not be defrayed by the aggregate revenue—such was the expensive magnitude of the establishment, and so large was the accumulation of debt. In 1812, when application was made for a new charter, the trade was opened to all merchants and speculators, with an exception of that branch which is carried on with China; and the company obtained a prolongation of territorial power to the year 1834.

The South-Sea company may rather be called a body of national creditors than a commercial corporation; but its professed object may now be promoted by the revolt of the Spanish colonies in South-America, and by the consequent opening of many ports which the jealousy of the court of Madrid had closed against foreign commerce.

To Africa, the trade has long been open, notwithstanding the continuance of a company chartered for that peculiar purpose. The exports from Great-Britain consist of iron, brass, fire-arms, gunpowder, lead-shot, swords, knives, glass and earthen ware, woollen, cotton, and linen goods; and the returns are various gums, drugs, ivory, gold-dust, ostrich-feathers, hides, &c.

With many parts of Europe, the British trade is very considerable and important. From Russia, we receive iron, salt-petre, timber, hemp, flax, linseed, pitch, tar, hides, tallow, mats, sheeting, sail-cloth, hogs' bristles, corn, &c. in exchange for woollen and cotton goods, hats, cutlery, porcelain, and even beer. To Turkey, we send tin, lead, iron, hard-ware, watches, logwood, cochineal, indigo, sugar, rice, West-Indian coffee, and Irish butter: and we receive, beside pecuniary returns, raw silk, cotton, carpets, skins, fruit, and drugs for dyeing and for medicine. The Russia and Turkey companies, which were deemed necessary in the infancy of these branches of traffic, still subsist; but the trade is so far laid open, that it is easy to procure, by the payment of a small sum to each corporation, a full permission to engage in it.

With Denmark, the balance of trade is usually in favour of this country, as the Danes import goods of much greater value than their own exports. Their articles of traffic are

the same with many of those which we have from Russia; and we supply them with broad-cloth, linen, earthen-ware, glass, &c. With the Swedes, we have long had less advantage in point of trade; and they are eagerly endeavouring, under the auspices of the crown-prince, to rival our artisans in various branches of manufacture.

From Dantzic and other Prussian ports, we receive copious supplies of corn, timber, skins, wool, hides, and potash; from the United Netherlands, raw and thrown silk, cotton, flax, straw-hats, oak-bark, and madder, beside butter and cheese; from France, wine, brandy, preserved fruit, oil, liquorice, silk, millinery, kid-skins, and perfumery; silk and cotton from the Austrian port of Trieste; from Spain and Portugal, wine, oil, fruit, cochineal, barilla, salt-petre, salt, and leather, beside gold, silver, and precious stones; from Italy, silk, rags for making paper, colours, oil, wine, pickles, &c. To the three last-mentioned countries we send, in addition to a large assortment of our manufactured goods, great quantities of dried fish for the *maigre* days of catholicism.

In the year 1763, the balance of trade was highly favourable to this country; for the imports only amounted, in official value, to 12,568,927 pounds, while the exports exceeded 15,578,900 pounds. In 1800, the former branch rose to thirty millions and a half, and the latter to forty-three millions; and, eight years afterwards, even while the French endeavoured to shut all the continental ports against us, the imports were above twenty-nine millions, in the value stated at the custom-house, and the exports thirty-four and a half: but the real value was far greater. Since the peace of 1815, however, commerce has greatly declined, partly in consequence of that poverty which diminishes the demand for a variety of articles, and partly from the redoubled zeal of foreign artisans.

With regard to British commodities and manufactures, we may observe, that Cornwall and Devonshire supply tin and lead, and woollen manufactures are common to almost all the western counties. Dorsetshire affords marble and stone, prepares cordage for the navy, and feeds a great number of sheep. Somersetshire, besides furnishing lead and copper, has large manufactures of bone-lace, stockings, and caps. Bristol long bore the second rank among the commercial towns of Great-Britain; but it now yields that honour to Liverpool. Its inhabitants carry on a variety of manufac-

tures. They make brass, act as iron-founders, prepare white and red lead, bake and refine sugar, fabricate bottles and glasses, form earthen-ware, work up wool, and exercise other branches of art with skill and dexterity.

In the county of York, the woollen branch particularly flourishes. Leeds is not only the chief mart for broad-cloth, but has acquired reputation by its carpets. Lancashire contains many manufacturing towns; in consequence of which it has become, next to Middlesex and Yorkshire, the most populous county in the kingdom. Liverpool, which, in 1700, had scarcely 3000 inhabitants, had 77,650 in 1801. That town has an excellent harbour, furnished with a number of very convenient wet and dry docks. In the traffic for slaves, it had the largest share; and, since the abolition of that odious branch of trade, it has prosecuted general commerce to such an extent, as to command a fourth part of the aggregate foreign trade of Great-Britain. In 1565, this port had only twelve vessels: in 1793, it possessed six hundred and six; and the present amount is far more considerable. Manchester, which exceeds Liverpool in population, is celebrated for every species of the cotton manufacture; and many articles in the linen and woollen branches are produced by the industry of the inhabitants, who also make glass and crockery, and work up iron, brass, and pewter. At Wigan the strongest checks are made; Bury is famous for fustian articles; and Bolton sends forth a large stock of dimity and muslin.

All varieties of ingenious and useful work are carried on in London and its neighbourhood. The gold and silver manufactures of the metropolis, through the encouragement given by the court and the nobility, equal, if they do not exceed, those of any country in Europe.

Norwich excels the rest of the kingdom in the fabrication of various stuffs, shawls, and crape. Nottingham is celebrated for its fine hosiery and cotton lace. Birmingham, though no corporation, is one of the largest and most populous towns in England, and is distinguished by its excellent hard-ware. It is here and in Sheffield, which is famous for cutlery, that the true genius of English art and industry is to be seen; for such are the ingenious inventions of the artisans for fabricating hard-wares, that they can afford them for a fourth part of the price at which other nations can furnish the same of an inferior kind.

The porcelain of Worcestershire rivals the boasted excellence of China-ware; and the Staffordshire pottery, which was highly improved by Wedgwood, affords striking proofs of British skill and industry. Artificial stone is made in various places, particularly near London, in a mode which promises considerable durability.

In the manufacture of carpets, Axminster and Wilton take the lead; and those of Kidderminster are not contemptible. Many are of opinion, that the English carpets are superior, both in beauty and durability, to those of Turkey: but that idea seems to be the effect of partiality, rather than the result of unprejudiced conviction. We do not wish to detract from the merit of our manufacturers: but let other artisans receive the praise which they deserve.

After the extinction of the rebellion in 1745, Mr. Pelham discovered the true value of Scotland, as to *commerce*. All the benefits received by that country, for the relief of the people from their feudal tyranny, were effected by that great man. The increase of their shipping, within these fifty years past, has been very considerable. The exports of those ships are composed chiefly of the manufactures of the country. The fisheries of the Scots are not confined to their own coasts; for they have a great concern in the Greenland whale-fishery. The benefits of these and other fisheries are, perhaps, equalled by manufactures, particularly that of iron, at Carron, in Stirlingshire. Their linen-manufacture is in a flourishing state. The town of Paisley employs a great number of hands in fabricating a particular kind of flowered and striped lawns, which are a reasonable and elegant wear. Sugar-houses, glass-works, and paper-mills, are erected in many of the counties. The Scotch carpeting has lately been improved, so as to make very neat and lasting furniture: but other woollen articles are not fabricated with equal success.

The Welsh are not much engaged in foreign trade; but they maintain a maritime intercourse with England and with Ireland, and carry on a considerable inland traffic with the former country. Their chief exports are copper, lead, coals, and woollen manufactures.

CHAP. VIII.

MANNERS. A. D. 1688—1815.

IN a free country, the manners are less influenced by the court, than under a despotic government; and, therefore, when liberty had been established by the Revolution, the manners of each class were more likely to be stamped with originality, or to exhibit a variety of features. In the reign of the gay and dissolute Charles, pleasure was courted in every form; but, under the government of William, the people were less disposed to follow the example of the court, and, without regard to the saturnine gravity of the king, or the moral virtue of the queen, would probably have become comparatively abstinent, steady, and sedate, from being weary of luxury and dissipation. With more decorous manners, a stronger sense of religion was also displayed;* for the members of the church of England, and the protestant dissenters, were willing to shew, that they were as sincere in the profession of their faith, as the bigoted James and his catholic followers, who wished to restore what they conceived to be the only legitimate mode of worship.

A reference to the Spectator will afford an agreeable view of the manners of the English in the reign of queen Anne; and, as that amusing and instructive work is still generally perused, it will not be necessary, in this place, to dwell upon that topic. Among the men, formality was more frequently relaxed by the smiles of gaiety, or by the impetuosity of licentiousness, than it had been in the preceding reign; and the female part of the community, without being more vicious, displayed a greater degree of vivacity, and a more attractive fund of good humour. At the same time, in the progress of refinement, the manners and address of the fair were more elegant and graceful; and, if they were not such adepts in classical learning as many ladies had been in the days of the *virgin queen*, their conversation was not less agreeable to their male companions.

The union with Scotland contributed to soften the manners of the inhabitants, by promoting a desirable assimilation, and by allaying those remains of animosity which the con-

* Bishop Burnet, indeed, in speaking of that period, says, "We are become very corrupt in all respects:" but divines are too ready to exhibit a gloomy picture of national manners.

junction of the two crowns upon the same head had not sufficiently repressed. But, while a strong attachment to the excluded family subsisted among a great proportion of the North-Britons, the approximation was retarded, and the shades of difference were prolonged.

The Welsh, though so long united in the same government with the English, still preserved a difference of character. They continued to be more frank and unreserved, more hospitable, and at the same time more irascible and resentful, than the English, without being so ferocious or vindictive as the Irish. That jealousy which they had long entertained of the descendants of their ancient conquerors, in some degree subsisted; but it gradually declined, and did not lead to serious enmity.

During the reign of the first king of the house of Brunswick, the court was less gay, because it was not enlivened by the presence of a queen, or the variety of a 'drawing-room': but that deficiency did not repress the general gaiety of the fair sex. This gaiety, indeed, never reached the high tone of vivacity by which the ladies of France were then and are still distinguished; and even those who more particularly indulged in it were as averse to criminality as the grave and demure. It was not, in itself, an indication of licentiousness or depravity; for the cheerful are not necessarily prone to vice.

Near the close of the following reign, the progress of commerce and manufactures, and the consequent increase of wealth, contributed to the prevalence of luxury: but the excess of this indulgence was reserved for that period which followed the great extension of our Indian empire. An ingenious writer,* indeed, before that extraordinary aggrandisement occurred, was of opinion that ruin impended over the nation, in consequence of the luxurious degeneracy of the times, and the deplorable corruption of morals and principles. But his complaints were not well-founded, and his remarks were the wailings of that gloomy and discontented spirit which at length drove him to suicide.

After the peace of the year 1763, the progress of luxury was more obvious and observable. The great fortunes acquired by contractors during the war, and the rapid rise of the servants of the India company to opulence, introduced

* Dr. Brown, in his *Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times*.—1757.

into this country a species of persons, who had become rich without industry; and, by diminishing the value of gold and silver, tended to the creation of a new system of finance. A very expensive style of living was the consequence; and such an example had a great effect upon others, without a due regard to the difference of income or property. A fondness for pleasure became more general: gaming was practised to a much greater extent; and dissipation was the order of the day. Tradesmen rivaled the nobility and gentry in the vanity of dress, and in the splendour of entertainments. The rage of extravagance spread from the metropolis into the country: luxury pervaded the provincial towns: and even the plain and frugal manners of honest farmers, in the remote villages, yielded to the prevailing passion. This practice has continued, in a greater or less degree, to the present time, checked occasionally by an extraordinary deficiency of the means of ostentation and the resources of indulgence.

This fondness for parade is not accompanied with genuine hospitality, which has greatly declined during the last fifty years. Even the dinner-parties, which are so essential a link of the modern chain of fashion, are not productive of friendly association. The conviviality is exterior and apparent, rather than real or cordial. The guests, in general, have no regard for each other; and, though they are all supposed to be mutually introduced, one half of the company, subsequently meeting some of the rest in public, will not condescend to take the least notice of those who, at the late party, were upon a footing of perfect equality. The *routes*, or the invitations to tea and cards, are still less social.

Among the existing diversions and amusements are operas, concerts, masquerades, and dramatic exhibitions; and, in almost every provincial town, there are periodical assemblies for cards and dancing. The chase of the stag and the fox, and coursing for hares, are common in the country; and of horse-races, both the gentry and the vulgar are fond. The athletic diversion of cricket is still kept up, and is sometimes practised by persons of the highest rank. Bell-ringing is a species of music which the English boast of having carried to perfection. Angling, fowling, tennis and billiards, bowls, ninepins, and quoits, are also familiar to them.

Of the peculiar diversions practised by the gentlemen of Scotland, one is the *goff*, which requires an equal degree of art and strength. It is played with a bat and a ball; the latter is stronger and harder than a cricket-ball; the bat is of a

taper construction, till it terminates in the part that strikes the ball, which is loaded with lead, and faced with horn. An expert player will send the ball to an amazing distance at one stroke; each follows his ball upon an open heath, and he who strikes it with fewest strokes into a hole, wins the game. The diversion of *hurling* is, perhaps, peculiar to the Scots. It is performed upon ice, with large flat stones, from twenty to two hundred pounds weight, which they hurl from a common stand to a mark at a certain distance; and whoever is the nearest the mark is the victor.

Two kinds of diversions, and those highly useful, are by no nation so much encouraged as by the English. These are *rowing* and *sailing*. The latter, if not introduced, was patronized by his present majesty's father, the late prince of Wales, and may be considered as a national improvement. The game-acts have taken from the common people a great fund of diversion, without answering the purposes of the rich; for the farmers and country-people destroy the game in nets, which they dare not kill with the gun. This monopoly of game, among so free a people as the Britons, has been often attacked, and as often defended. The defence, in point of argument, is less strong than the attack; but, as the business of legislation chiefly belongs to the supposed owners of game, it is not probable that the arbitrary claim will be relinquished.

The history of the stage is a subject of great philosophical curiosity, as it is, in every nation, intimately connected with the history of manners. Even from the mode of playing in different ages, there is something to be gathered beyond the gratification of idle curiosity. Our tragic actors, before the appearance of Garrick, seemed to have had a very imperfect notion of their business. As they had few opportunities of observing the motions, or of hearing the discourse, of royal personages, especially on great and momentous occasions, or while under the influence of strong passions, they had recourse to imagination; and gave, to all the speeches of such exalted characters, and, by habit, to those of every character, an inarticulate deep monotony, accompanied with a strutting stateliness of gesture, which they mistook for majesty. Even Betterton, Booth, and Quin, were not free from this absurdity. To acquire only the *tread of the stage* was a work of years. But no sooner did Garrick set his foot upon the theatre, than this difficulty vanished. Having a sound judgement, a just taste, and keen sensibility, with a

discernment so acute as to enable him to look into the inmost recesses of the heart; a marking countenance; an eye full of lustre; a fine ear; a musical and articulate voice, with uncommon power to modulate it to every tone of passion; he rose at once to the height of his profession, and taught these mpathising spectators, that kings and heroes were men, and spoke, and moved, and felt, like the rest of their species. Other players followed his easy and natural manner, to the great advantage of theatrical representation.

This new style of acting introduced a good taste in writing. Garrick and his disciples displayed their power of moving the passions, chiefly in the pathetic and awful scenes of Shakespeare and Otway, to which they drew more general admiration. Originals were composed in the same just taste. Among these, we still see, with pleasure, the *Gamester*, *Douglas*, and *Barbarossa*.

The genius of Garrick, as an actor, was not confined to tragedy. In many parts of comedy he was no less excellent. The comic muse, however, was backward in her favours for a time. From the time of Congreve we had few new comedies of any merit, till Hoadly produced the *Suspicious Husband*, and Foote those inimitable sketches of real life, which were so long the delight of the town, and have justly gained him the appellation of the English Aristophanes. At length, Colman, in the *Jealous Wife* and *Clandestine Marriage*, united the humour of Plautus to the elegance of Terence; and Sheridan, in the *School for Scandal*, followed the same course with a greater display of wit and pleasantry. Thus our comedy seemed to be perfected. But a new species was imported from France; in which, as often happens in the great drama of the world, ludicrous and interesting circumstances are blended, and scenes of humour interchanged with those of sentiment. Kelly's *False Delicacy*, and Cumberland's *West-Indian*, are pieces of merit in this new taste.

In more recent times, we have been amused with the plays of the younger Colman, Morton, and Reynolds. The *Poor Gentleman* and *John Bull* of the first of these writers are likely to entertain another generation; and some of the pieces of O'Keeffe are irresistibly ludicrous, and not destitute of sentiment; but they are, in general, too extravagant and farcical for legitimate comedy.

No performer, equal in every respect to Garrick, has since appeared. Henderson, however, was his rival in Hamlet and Macbeth, and was admired in the representation of

Falstaff, a character which Garrick never attempted. Kemble, who lately retired from the stage, long-figured in the chief walks of tragedy. In an accurate study and conception of his author, in dignity of manner, graceful action, and pleasing declamation, he unquestionably excelled: he seemed to enter into the *minutiae* of every character: yet he did not give full force to the workings, movements, and variations of passion. Of Mrs. Siddons it has been emphatically said, that she "conjured up the ghost of the character which she personated, beheld it with the piercing eye of strong imagination, and embodied the phantom." A greater panegyric could scarcely have been given; and we do not say that it exceeds her merit.

Music formed an essential part of the dramatic entertainments of the ancients. In those of the moderns, and especially in ours, it was long only an occasional auxiliary. Our first successful musical piece, the celebrated *Beggar's Opera* of Gay, is said to have been written in *ridicule* of the Italian opera. The author, however, foresaw the pleasure which the comic opera would afford to an English audience, and only called in the contrast of character, in order to procure a more ready reception to his new drama. If burlesque had been his chief object, he would have made Mac-heath and all his gang warble Italian airs. Gay, on the contrary, adapted the words of his songs to *native* tunes. These tunes (says Dr. Russell) had all been heard by most of the audience in early life, when the mind was free from care; in the scenes of rural innocence, or the walks of gay frolic, when the youthful heart beat high with ambitious hope, or reposed in the luxury of infantine passion; while reason was lost in dreams of ineffable delight, and fancy was fed with illusions of unchangeable love. Every tune recalled some agreeable feeling, or former happy state of mind. The effect of the music, therefore, seemed to be magical; and it would have been still greater, if the airs had been sung by persons whom the audience could have loved or respected. But, as this was not the case, the *Beggar's Opera*, in consequence of its musical enchantment, had a very immoral tendency. Our musical comedy was afterwards much refined and improved, by the exclusion of profligate manners, and by a judicious mixture of scenes of sentiment with those of humour; as in *Love in a Village*, the *Duenna*, and some other pieces of a similar kind, which have deservedly met with a favourable reception.

The celebrated Handel, having disagreed with the proprietors of the Opera-house, brought on the English stage a new species of musical drama, to which he gave the name of *Oratorio*; and in which he exerted all his power of combining harmony, to the delight and astonishment of the whole musical world. Arne attempted to inspire his countrymen with a taste for the *Serious Opera*. With this view he set to excellent music, and brought upon the English stage, a translation of the Artaxerxes of Metastasio, which was received with the most enthusiastic applause.

With regard to genius, the inhabitants of Great-Britain are not so remarkable for invention, as for improving the inventions of others. The intense application which they give to a favourite study is incredible. It absorbs all their other ideas. This creates the numerous instances of mental absence that are to be found among them.

The national character is supposed to be marked by public spirit, more, perhaps, than that of any other modern people. Zeal for the service, interest, and honour, of the country, and a proud sense of the dignity of the nation, are apparently very prevalent: yet this exterior patriotism does not preclude the most shameless rapacity among those who ostensibly serve the state. However insignificant may be their services, they seem to think that they cannot be too profusely rewarded. In this point all parties agree; and the people severely suffer by this systematic rapine. We are far from recommending a niggardly or illiberal treatment of persons who are thought worthy of public employment; but the grant of large pensions for life, in return for a short term of service, cannot be justified: still less can that misplaced lenity or connivance be vindicated, which suffers the base purloiners of the public money to escape exemplary punishment, when ordinary robbery, which is certainly not more criminal, is deemed a capital offence.

After these observations on character and manners, some remarks on the subject of dress may not improperly be introduced. During a great part of this period, the peruke, which was borrowed from France in the reign of Charles II., flourished in full luxuriance, as an *ornament and comfort* to the human head. The custom is sufficiently ridiculous: but this curious appendage was supposed to add so much dignity to the aspect, that it thenceforward became a part of the professional *paraphernalia* of judges and barristers; and physicians did not cease to wear it before the present reign.

When this fashion declined, a high *toupet* and a long *queue* succeeded; but, when Mr. Pitt had procured the imposition of an annual tax on all who made use of powder for the head, the duke of Bedford and other distinguished opposers of the court began to wear their hair closely cropped, without the *aspersion of white dust* over it; and that custom has since prevailed among young persons of both sexes.

In the principal garments used by men, variations necessarily arose from caprice or a desire of improvement. For many years, it was the fashion to appear in a coat without a cape, having cuffs as large as boot-tops; to wear a long waistcoat with capacious pockets, and to draw up the stockings half-way over the small-clothes; and this continued to be the court-dress, long after its ordinary use had sustained various alterations. At one time, cocked or three-cornered hats were worn by all men, except those of the lower class: but, for a long time, they have been, with few exceptions, disused. Formerly, boots were only used by riders; but they are now daily worn by persons who have no idea of equestrian amusement. Pantaloon, a part of the dress of former times, have been again brought into general use for youth; and trowsers are frequently worn, not by seamen alone.

With reference to female dress, we remember the time when long waists were in vogue, being so tightened by stays as to assume a tapering form. At another time, the waist was studiously enlarged: but the ladies now endeavour to appear as if they had no such component part; and, for that reason, they have discarded the pockets. Their present mode of adjusting their hair, cropped and partially curled, is graceful and becoming, far preferable to the enormous head-dresses which we observed with disgust in our boyish days: but the too free display of the bosom cannot be commended. Their court-dresses are uncommonly elegant and splendid. Velvet, silk, and satin, covered with white crape, spangled with gold or silver, decorated with beautiful wreaths, and festoons of embroidery and jewels, exhibit the persons of the fair courtiers to advantage, and seem to compensate the want of beauty to those who are less favoured by nature.

The *Highlanders* wear a *plaid*, composed of a woollen stuff, sometimes very fine, called *tartan*. This stuff is of various colours, forming stripes which cross each other at right angles; and the natives value themselves upon the

judicious arrangement, or what they call *sets*, of those stripes and colours, which, when they are skilfully managed, produce a pleasing effect to the eye. Above the shirt, the Highlander wears a waistcoat of the same composition with the plaid, which commonly consists of twelve yards in width, and which he throws over his shoulder nearly in the form of a Roman *toga*. Sometimes it is fastened round the middle with a leathern belt, so that part of the plaid hangs down before and behind, like a petticoat, and supplies the want of breeches. This they call being dressed in a *phelig*, which the Lowlanders call a *kilt*. Sometimes they wear a kind of petticoat of the same variegated stuff, buckled round the waist; and this they term the *phelibeg*, which seems to be of Milesian extraction. Their stockings are likewise of tartan, tied below the knee with garters formed into tassels. For the head a blue flat woollen cap, called a bonnet, is used. A knife, and a dagger called a *dirk*, and an iron pistol, sometimes of fine workmanship, and curiously inlaid with silver, used to hang from the belt of the *phelibeg*. A large leathern purse, richly adorned with silver, hanging before, was always part of a Highland chieftain's dress.

The attachment of the *Highlanders* to this dress rendered it a bond of union, which often proved dangerous to government. Many efforts were made by the legislature, after the rebellion in 1715, to disarm, and oblige them to conform to the low-country dress. The disarming scheme was the most successful; for, when the rebellion in 1745 broke out, the common people had scarcely any other arms than those which they took from the king's troops. Their overthrow at Culloden rendered it no difficult matter for the legislature to force them into a total change of their dress. Its expediency, however, in a mountainous country, was so great, that, after the death of the pretender, when the *Highlanders* were no longer suspected of disloyalty, they were allowed by the parliament to resume it.

The women's plaid has been long disused. It was worn in a graceful manner, the drapery falling towards the feet in large folds. A curious *virtuoso* may find a strong resemblance between the plaids, and the variegated and fimbriated drapery of the ancients, especially the *Tuscan*s, who were probably of Celtic original.

CHAP. IX.

INCIDENTS AND CURIOUS PARTICULARS. A. D. 1688—1815.

IN 1693, the Bank of England was established. During the same year, the first public lottery was drawn.

In 1698, the Scots attempted to colonise the isthmus of Darien. About one thousand men, with the assent of the native chieftains, took possession of a part of the country which did not belong to the Spaniards; and the settlement, in all probability, would soon have flourished, if king William, influenced by the advice of the Dutch, and also by the mean jealousy which his colonial subjects in New-England and other parts of North-America entertained of the scheme, had not prohibited its prosecution.

As religion did not flourish in the colonies, an earnest application was made to the king for the establishment of a society, calculated for the propagation of the Gospel among the unenlightened members of each settlement; and, in 1701, he granted a charter for that useful and desirable purpose. This institution still exists; but its effects have not been so highly beneficial as the friends of religion fondly expected, being obstructed by a close attention to worldly pursuits and interests.

In 1707, sir Cloudeley Shovel, a distinguished admiral, was wrecked near the Scilly isles, and perished, with the whole crew of his ship the Association, amounting to eight hundred persons. The concomitant loss of the Eagle and the Romney, and of a small ship which attended the squadron, greatly swelled the number of the victims.

In 1727, inoculation for the small-pox was first tried on criminals with success.

In 1739, a very severe frost commenced, which continued above eight weeks. The river Thames was covered with such a crust of ice, that a multitude of people dwelt upon it in tents, and many booths were erected for the entertainment of the populace. The prices of all sorts of provisions were so uncommonly high, that many families must have perished by cold and hunger, had not the opulent been inspired with laudable feelings of compassion and humanity.

In 1744, commodore Anson returned from his voyage of three years and nine months, in which he had surrounded the terraqueous globe. After having sustained incredible

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hardships and misery, from the shattered condition of the ships, and a scorbutic disorder, he took the Acapulco galleon, which contained treasure and effects to the value of 313,000*l*. With this rich prize and other valuable spoils, he proceeded to Canton, and returned to Britain by the Cape of Good-Hope.

Soon after the completion of this memorable voyage, a melancholy fate attended the homeward course of admiral Balchen. His flag-ship, being separated from the squadron which he commanded, struck on the Caskets near the isle of Alderney; and neither the gallant commander, nor any one of the officers, seamen, marines, or volunteers, escaped destruction. Above nine hundred persons thus perished in a moment.

In January 1750, a remarkable *aurora borealis* appeared to the north-east, of a deep and dusky red colour, like the reflection of some great fire; and the next month was ushered in by terrible peals of thunder, flashes of lightning, and such a tempest of wind, hail, and rain, as overwhelmed with fear and consternation the inhabitants of Bristol, where it chiefly raged. On the eighth day of the same month, the people of London were still more dreadfully alarmed by the shock of an earthquake; and, on the same day of the following month, they were affrighted by a second shock, more violent than the former, and still more alarming. As these shocks appeared to be periodical, a fanatical soldier pretended to prophesy, that another concussion would happen on the same day of April, and totally destroy London and Westminster. This denunciation spread such a general alarm, that, on the evening of the 8th of April, the fields about the metropolis were filled with an incredible number of people of all ranks, who waited in the most fearful suspense, until the return of day disproved the truth of the dreaded prophesy.

A great number of felons being confined about this time in Newgate, the air acquired such a pestilential degree of putrefaction, that, when they were brought to trial at the bar of the Old Bailey, in May, it produced among the audience a fever, which proved fatal to the lord-mayor of London, to one alderman, two of the judges, several barristers, the greatest part of the jury, and many of the spectators.

In 1756, the Soubahdar, or viceroy of Bengal, having gained possession of the English factory at Cossimbuzar,

marched to Calcutta at the head of a numerous army, and immediately invested it. As the place was in no posture of defence, the governor, with some of the principal persons, abandoned the fort, and took refuge in a ship. Mr. Holwell, the second in command, with the assistance of a few gallant officers, defended it for a time, till, being overpowered by numbers, he was obliged to submit. The viceroy declared, on the word of a soldier, that no injury should be done to him or his garrison. Notwithstanding this promise, they were all driven, to the number of one hundred and forty-six persons of both sexes, into a place called the black-hole, a cube of eighteen feet, in which were only two windows, and those open to quarters from which they could not expect the least refreshing air. As it is impossible to conceive or describe the situation of these unhappy persons, thus cooped up in so confined a place, suffice it to say, that, after experiencing all the agonies that must naturally arise from a difficulty of respiration, the most intolerable thirst, and the horrid spectacle of seeing their friends dropping around them, when the morning returned, no more than twenty-three survived. The inhuman ruffians, who guarded the miserable victims, derived entertainment from their agonies; and the more savage soubahdar would not have spared the lives of the few survivors, but from the hopes of discovering treasures, which only existed in his own imagination.

In 1761, a canal which had been formed, under the auspices of the duke of Bridgewater, from Worsley to Manchester, was opened to the public. A part of its progress was subterranean; and it was occasionally carried over a river by an aqueduct. This great work excited such a zeal of imitation, that few countries have, at the present time, a greater convenience of *inland water-carriage* than Great-Britain. James Brindley, an illiterate but ingenious mechanic, superintended the construction of many of these canals.

In 1769 and the two following years, appeared the letters of *Junius*, vehemently assailing the conduct of the duke of Grafton and his ministerial associates, and not even sparing majesty itself. The composition and style are greatly admired: but calumny and abuse are mingled with just animadversion. The most remarkable circumstance attending the work, is the cloud of mystery which hangs over the author, who has never yet been discovered.

In 1772, a bill for regulating the marriages of the royal family arose from the king's strong disapprobation of the union of his two brothers, the dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, with ladies of inferior rank. It was ordained by this act, that the descendants of George II. should not marry, without the king's consent, under the age of twenty-five years; and, even after the attainment of that age, their matrimonial arrangements were declared to be subject to parliamentary interference. This was a statute merely of partial operation; but the act of the 26th year of George II. was a measure of general policy, guarding against clandestine or irregular marriages among all ranks of people.

About the same time; an alteration, which deserves notice, was made in the criminal law of the kingdom. Formerly, when a felon refused to plead, he was stretched out upon his back at full length, and a heavy weight was laid upon his breast, which was gradually, though slowly, increased, till he expired; during which operation he was fed with nothing but a crust of bread and some dirty water. By a bill, which was now enacted, this barbarous practice was abolished; and all felons refusing to plead, are adjudged to be guilty of the crimes of which they are accused.

A remarkable incident occurred in Denmark, in 1772, connected with the royal family of Great-Britain. Queen Matilda, the sister of our sovereign, was accused of adultery, divorced from Christian VII., and banished into Germany, where she died in the twenty-fourth year of her age.

In 1773, captain Phipps, afterwards lord Mulgrave, sailed to the northward, in order to discover, if possible, either a north-east or north-west passage to India; but, in the latitude of 81 degrees and 39 minutes, great masses of ice prevented his progress, and baffled his hopes.

The reign of George III., indeed, seems to have been particularly distinguished by the spirit of adventure. Four voyages round the world were undertaken, from 1764 to 1771, for the purpose of making discoveries: the first by commodore Byron, the second by Wallis, the third by Carteret, and the fourth by Cook; and none of them entirely failed in the object of their destination. Captain Cook performed a second voyage round the world, and was actually engaged in sailing round it a third time, when, to the infinite regret of all lovers of real merit, he was killed at O-why-hee, in 1779, in a contest with the savages.

In 1777, much confusion, apprehension, and suspicion,

were excited by the daring crimes of a wretched enthusiast and incendiary, known by the appellation of *John the Painter*, but whose real name was James Altken. This person, who was a man of the most abandoned character, set fire to the rope-house in the dock-yard of Portsmouth, and to a warehouse and some dwelling-houses at Bristol; and it appeared, by his own confession, that he intended to have destroyed all the dock-yards in the kingdom, in order to impede the naval preparations, and in expectation of being liberally rewarded by the American states. But, before he could carry any more of his infernal designs into execution, he was seized, tried, condemned, executed, and hung in chains.

In 1780, there were alarming riots in London. See the chapter of ecclesiastical history.

In 1784, adventurous voyages in the air were risked in this country, in imitation of the French practice. Lunardi, an Italian, ascended from Moor-fields, in a car attached to a balloon, and, triumphantly waving his flag at a great height, made a rapid journey to Ware. The first Englishman who thus traversed the air, was Mr. Sheldon the surgeon. When the report of the invention first reached England, the people in general refused to give credit to it; but ocular demonstration removed their doubts. It merely depends on the substitution of such a quantity of rarefied air, as, even with the accompaniment of a considerable weight, will be lighter than the common air which is displaced by it, and must consequently rise. The most experienced aerial voyager is Mr. Sadler, formerly a cook at Oxford; but it does not appear that, though he has a philosophical turn, he has made any important discoveries in his progress through the atmosphere.

The beginning of the year 1786 was rendered memorable by the loss of the *Halsewell* Indiaman, on the rocks of Purbeck, near the isle of Portland, as she was outward-bound; when captain Pierce, his two daughters, two nieces, and two other young ladies, lost their lives, with above one hundred and fifty seamen and soldiers.

In 1787, an extraordinary plan of colonisation was adopted by the parliament. Above eight hundred convicts were sent to New-South-Wales in New-Holland; and, being stationed at Port-Jackson and in the neighbouring country, were maintained by the government, until they could subsist without the aid of the mother-country. Many additions have been subsequently made to the population of that dis-

tant region; and Van Diemen's Land, in the southern part of the same great island, has been also colonised, but with little advantage to the parent-state.

In 1788, died at Rome, aged sixty-seven years, Charles Edward Stuart, more commonly known by the appellation of the *Pretender*. His supposed claim devolved to his brother, the cardinal of York.

In the same year, an association was formed for the exploration of the interior of Africa—a laudable object, but which requires greater funds and more extensive resources than a few individuals, unaided by the government, can command. Two adventurous men, Ledyard and Lucas, were employed by the society; but the former died in the midst of his peregrinations; and the latter made no important discoveries. Mr. Park penetrated about one thousand miles inland, but could not reach the far-famed city of Tombuctoo. He undertook a second journey, in which he is supposed to have perished. Mr. Horneman obtained some curious information respecting the kingdom of Fezzan; and Mr. Browne visited the sultan of Dar-Fur. Other travels have since been undertaken in the same quarter of the globe, with little real benefit.

On the 14th of July, 1789, the French revolution broke out. See the *Political History*.

For an imputed intention of subverting the British government, in imitation of the French revolutionists, Mr. Horne Tooke, Holcroft, Hardy, and other advocates of reform, were apprehended and imprisoned, in the year 1794. Three of the number were tried; but, as the jury did not conceive that any of their acts amounted to high-treason, they were acquitted, to the great joy of the people.

In 1794, Frederic William, king of Prussia, employed a part of the subsidy which he received from Great-Britain in subverting the independence of Poland. Russia, Austria, and Prussia, had seized large portions of that kingdom, in 1772, in defiance of the indignation of Europe; and the remaining provinces were now added to the possessions of the rapacious confederates, after a short war, in which Russian barbarity was atrociously displayed.

In 1795, captain Vancouver returned from a voyage round the world, undertaken chiefly with a view either of ascertaining or disproving the existence of a passage across the American continent, from the North-Pacific to the Atlantic. No such aquatic communication could be discovered. A mis-

sionary voyage was afterwards undertaken; and some zealous methodists endeavoured to diffuse the light of the Gospel among the inhabitants of the Society and Friendly Islands; and that pious labour is not yet discontinued: but the converts are not very numerous.

In the same year, the trial of Warren Hastings was concluded, above seven years after its commencement. The peers acquitted him of all the charges of tyranny, injustice, and misconduct, which had been adduced against him in the house of commons, and supported by the brilliant eloquence of Burke, the luminous oratory of Sheridan, and the zeal and abilities of other distinguished senators.

In 1800, a new philosophical society was formed in Westminster, under the auspices of count Rumford, the steady friend of general improvement. It was founded by private subscriptions; and, being established by the king's charter, received the name of the *Royal Institution*. The subscribers have the use of a valuable library, and the benefit of lectures in various branches of science, calculated to bring down philosophy to the level of common life, and to promote useful arts and manufactures. The London and Surrey Institutions were subsequently framed upon a similar plan, and continue to be honoured with public encouragement.

In 1801, a calamitous shipwreck occurred. The Invincible man of war being lost near Yarmouth, about one hundred and ninety-five of the crew were saved by the use of the launch; but *four hundred* unfortunately found a watery grave. Captain Rennie, after the ship had sunk, attempted to swim to the launch; but, when he was within reach of the oars, being exhausted with fatigue, he calmly resigned himself to his fate. Lifting up his hands, as if to implore the blessing of Heaven, and immediately after placing them upon his face, he went directly down without a struggle. This afflictive disaster is attributed solely to the ignorance of the pilot, who was among the numerous sufferers; and, in common charity, death must now be considered as having expiated all his faults.

In the same year, a mutiny broke out among a number of seamen in the bay of Bantry, chiefly from an unwillingness to serve in the West-Indies. Eleven of these refractory men were subjected to the rigour of capital punishment, while the rest were indulged with the royal pardon.

About this time, a regular and official survey was taken of the population of Great-Britain. It was computed, that

the inhabitants of England, of both sexes and all ages, exclusive of soldiers, seamen, and convicts, exceeded the number of 8,614,000; that Wales had more than 540,000, and Scotland, above 1,600,000. It was not generally supposed, before these estimates were announced, that the island possessed so great a population. Loose calculations, indeed, had given a higher amount; but no dependence can be placed on idle or gratuitous assertions.

In 1804, a new war broke out in India, in consequence of the suspicions entertained by the governor-general (the marquis Wellesley) of the views and designs of Holkar, a Mahratta chieftain. Lord Lake distinguished himself in the two campaigns which ensued; and Holkar and his allies were reduced to exterior submission.

In the same year, the national debt amounted to the enormous sum of five hundred and eighty-three millions, of which above ninety-eight millions had been nominally redeemed by Mr. Pitt's plan of gradual liquidation. That ominous anticipation of revenue, which produced this heavy burthen, commenced in the reign of Charles II., but was not systematically pursued before the Revolution. It was an imitation of the custom (which prevailed in some of the Italian states) of borrowing a considerable sum, paying out of the produce of taxation a regular interest for it, and permitting the transfer of this new species of property from any original subscriber to a friend or a stranger. The debt was comparatively small in 1760; and, in 1775, it did not exceed one hundred and thirty millions, the interest of which was about 4,219,000 pounds. Its astonishing increase from that time must be deeply lamented by every friend of his country.

In 1806, a solemn trial took place in the high court of peers at Westminster. Lord Melville, the devoted friend of Mr. Pitt, was impeached by the house of commons, for the alleged embezzlement of the public money, or for a connivance at such misapplication. The casting-vote of the speaker, on the motion of Mr. Whitbread, produced the trial; but the peers, after an elaborate investigation of the case, declared their conviction of his lordship's innocence.

In 1809, a parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the duke of York, who had long enjoyed the chief command of the army of Great-Britain, amused and interested the public. It appeared that his royal highness had suffered Mrs. Clarke, the object of his amorous regard, to recommend

particular persons for military promotion; and that this lady had received large sums of money when her recommendation proved effectual. There is little doubt that he must have been aware of some of these instances of corruption: yet the house of commons voted in his favour. His delicacy would not permit him to be satisfied with this acquittal; and he therefore resigned his employment: but, after an interval of some years, he was re-instated; and he has not since given occasion for the severity of animadversion.

On the 25th of October, in the same year, a general jubilee took place in the British dominions, for the celebration of that length of life and of sway which had brought our gracious sovereign to the commencement of the fiftieth year of his reign. Thanks were offered in the churches, with grateful humility, for the indulgent kindness of Providence; and festive meetings followed the solemnities of worship.

In 1810, when John Gale Jones had been sent to prison by the house of commons, for reflecting on the public conduct of Mr. Yorke and Mr. Windham, Sir Francis Burdett, in a letter addressed to his constituents, endeavoured to prove, that, though the house of commons might lawfully commit its own members, it had no such power over others; alleging, that this assumption of authority was of very recent date, and that it violated the liberty of the subject, as provided for by *magna charta* and the bill of rights; and adding severe reflections upon the general conduct of the house, and the mode in which it was constituted. This letter was brought forward in parliament by Mr. Lethbridge, who moved that it was a libellous and scandalous publication, and that sir Francis Burdett, having acknowledged himself the author of it, was guilty of a gross breach of privilege. These resolutions were voted; and an additional motion, that the offender should be committed to the Tower, was likewise carried by a majority of thirty-seven members. Sir Francis, in an interview with the serjeant at arms, asserted that the speaker's warrant was illegal, and declared that he would resist its execution by force. This conduct, on the part of the baronet, was no sooner made public, than a concourse of the lower orders assembled before his house and in the vicinity, and proceeded to such acts of outrage, that it became necessary to bring forward the horse-guards, and several persons were mortally wounded, after the act against riots had been read without effect. The sheriffs of Middlesex then came forward, attended by the

posse comitatus: but neither the civil nor military power seemed likely to appease the commotion, till, on the third day, the officers having forced an entrance, sir Francis was taken, and conducted under a strong escort to the Tower, where he continued till the prorogation of parliament.

In 1813, the case of the princess of Wales excited extraordinary attention. She had been married to the prince in 1795; and, after the birth of a daughter, she was neglected by her husband, and obliged to live without the honour and comfort of his society. After a long interval of separation, the tongue of scandal seriously assailed her character. She was accused of very indecorous behaviour; and a boy whom she charitably supported was said to be her own child, the offspring of that adulterous commerce which, in her case, would have been an act of treason. These allegations led to an examination of witnesses, whose testimony, however, did not seem so satisfactory to the four peers who were ordered to inquire into the case, as to justify a declaration of the guilt of her royal highness, though they were of opinion, that levity and a want of strict delicacy might be imputed to her. A subsequent ministerial investigation more fully acquitted the princess, who was therefore permitted to re-appear at court. When the king's indisposition had deprived her of a friend and patron, the prince-regent took the liberty of restricting her in her visits to her daughter;—an exertion of authority which so displeased her, that she addressed to him a letter of acrimonious expostulation. Another inquiry into her conduct was the result of this complaint; and the advice which the ministers and judges then offered, tended to a continuance of that restriction which the princess so keenly resented. The public now began to sympathise with this exalted personage; and addresses were presented to her, by the corporation of the metropolis, and other public bodies, condemning the baseness of her accusers, and applauding her spirit and her virtues. This conduct was imputed by the court to factious views, rather than to a sincere regard for the object of such exterior respect. Being suffered to take its course, this zeal gradually died away; and the princess, having secured an income adequate to all her exigencies, retired to the continent.

In 1811, a new survey was taken of the population; and it appeared, that the inhabitants of England were about 9,499,400; that, in Wales, 607,380 persons formed the whole number; and, in Scotland, 1,804,864 composed the

amount. In addition to this statement, the army and navy, seamen in registered vessels, and convicts, were calculated at 640,500. By comparing this account with that of the year 1801, the reader will observe, with pleasure and surprise, the great increase which took place in ten years.

In 1814, soon after the adjustment of the treaties between France and the allied powers, the prince-regent and the British nation were gratified with a visit from the two most active princes of the confederacy, who had constantly attended their armies, and had exposed their persons to all the dangers of the field. The emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia landed at Dover, with an illustrious train of nobles and officers, and, proceeding to London, were received by the prince with the most flattering politeness. Next to the two sovereigns, marshal Blucher attracted the greatest share of public attention. When the dignified strangers had passed a week in the observance of every thing worthy of notice in the metropolis and its environs, and in the acceptance of invitations to various entertainments, they visited the university of Oxford. After their return to London, they were entertained in the most sumptuous style by the lord-mayor and common-council; and, satiated with manifestations of respect and regard, they at length re-crossed the channel, but not before they had been gratified with a survey of the fleet and arsenal at Portsmouth.

On the 1st of August, when a hundred years had elapsed from the elevation of George I. to the throne, a jubilee, ordered by the prince-regent, took place. It was not considered by the public as absolutely necessary, either to impress upon the minds of the people the advantages and the happiness which they have derived from the accession of an illustrious and beneficent family, or to celebrate the restoration of peace. If the blessings of such a government be really felt, they will be generally acknowledged; and peace is equally welcome without the parade or formality of solemnization.

On the 1st of February, 1815, the national debt, in consequence of a succession of profuse expenditure, was elevated to the amount of 811,800,000*l.*, of which a small part had been ostensibly redeemed by life-annuities. The annual interest of this alarming debt nearly amounted to forty millions sterling. To answer this demand, and provide, in other respects, for the public service, the supplies of the year were raised to *eighty-nine millions*.

After the restoration of general peace, troops were voted by the house of commons, to the amount of 176,600 men;—a number nearly equal to that which had been granted in the last year of the war. With regard to the military force of the realm, it may be observed, that the jealousy which the people formerly entertained of a standing army has subsided into a patient acquiescence in as great an extension of it as the court can desire. The critical state of a neighbouring kingdom is alleged as the reason of a large establishment: but it is not very difficult for the plausibility of courtiers, in the present perverted state of political reasoning, to find a defence or an excuse for it. If the dread of new commotions in France may be supposed to require the retention of a considerable army, for the temporary occupation of that country, it is not necessary that a great force should be maintained in this kingdom, which may be defended and secured by a small regular force, if not by the militia alone. An attempt was made by Mr. Bankes to procure a reduction of the army to sixty-six thousand men, as Mr. Pitt had only demanded forty-six thousand in 1792; but the proposition was not supported by the independent members, and was immediately exploded. It is to be lamented, that a general fondness for military parade prevails among modern potentates, who are induced, by this propensity, to impose the most grievous burthens upon their subjects. If it be the will and pleasure of other princes to follow this arbitrary practice, let not their conduct influence the ministry or the parliament of this realm. No reasonable precautions against eventual peril, indeed, ought to be neglected: but, as no danger menaces this country, and as œconomy, in every department of the state, was never more necessary than it is at the present moment, the principles of the constitution, and the maxims of prudence, concur to recommend a diminution of the formidable array of disciplined force, and a relaxation of the high tone of martial authority.

While the prince-regent reposed in peace, after his meritorious and successful exertions for the deliverance of Europe, he had the pleasure of negotiating a matrimonial union for his only child, the princess Charlotte. It was his wish that the prince of Orange should be his son-in-law: but the overtures for that connexion were deliberately rejected by her royal highness, who, being of opinion that she had a full right of choice, in a case which concerned her future happiness, and which did not militate against the public interest,

fixed her affection upon prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg. That prince, after serving with reputation against the French, had visited this country in the train of the allied sovereigns; and he was then gratified with repeated opportunities of rendering himself agreeable to the presumptive heiress of the British throne. The prince-regent, having discovered his daughter's sentiments, did not, like a stern or arbitrary parent, insist upon her unreserved obedience to his will, but permitted her to follow her own inclinations. Being invited from Germany, the young warrior hastened to accept the high honour which awaited him; and, on the 2d of May, 1816, the nuptials were solemnised between him and the princess. An income, calculated not merely for comfort, but for splendour, was settled upon the happy pair; and addresses of congratulation were presented to them from all parts of the kingdom. Satiated with the effusions of popular joy and respect, they retired into the country, and enjoyed in tranquillity that happiness to which their virtues entitled them. By giving occupation to the industrious, and distributing among the poor the means of occasional relief, they made the neighbourhood smile around them, while their conciliatory manners enhanced the value of the blessings which emanated from their bounty. They also contributed, by an example of piety, to strengthen among the people the efficacy of religious impressions. But this pleasing prospect was suddenly overcast. The princess had enjoyed, during her pregnancy, a good state of health; and, even after she became a mother, notwithstanding the immediate death of the infant, she was supposed by her medical attendants to be in a state which encouraged the best hopes. But how vain and fallacious are the hopes of short-sighted mortals! That danger, which was for some time scarcely visible, began to assume the most alarming aspect; and unrelenting Death seized his amiable victim. The fatal day,—the 6th of November, 1817,—will long be remembered with horror. The fair descendant of a long line of princes had not completed her twenty-second year; yet, in addition to the usual accomplishments of her sex and rank, her mind was well-informed, and her judgement correct; and, from her known character, an admiring nation had reason to expect, on her eventual accession to the throne, a series of just and constitutional government.

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